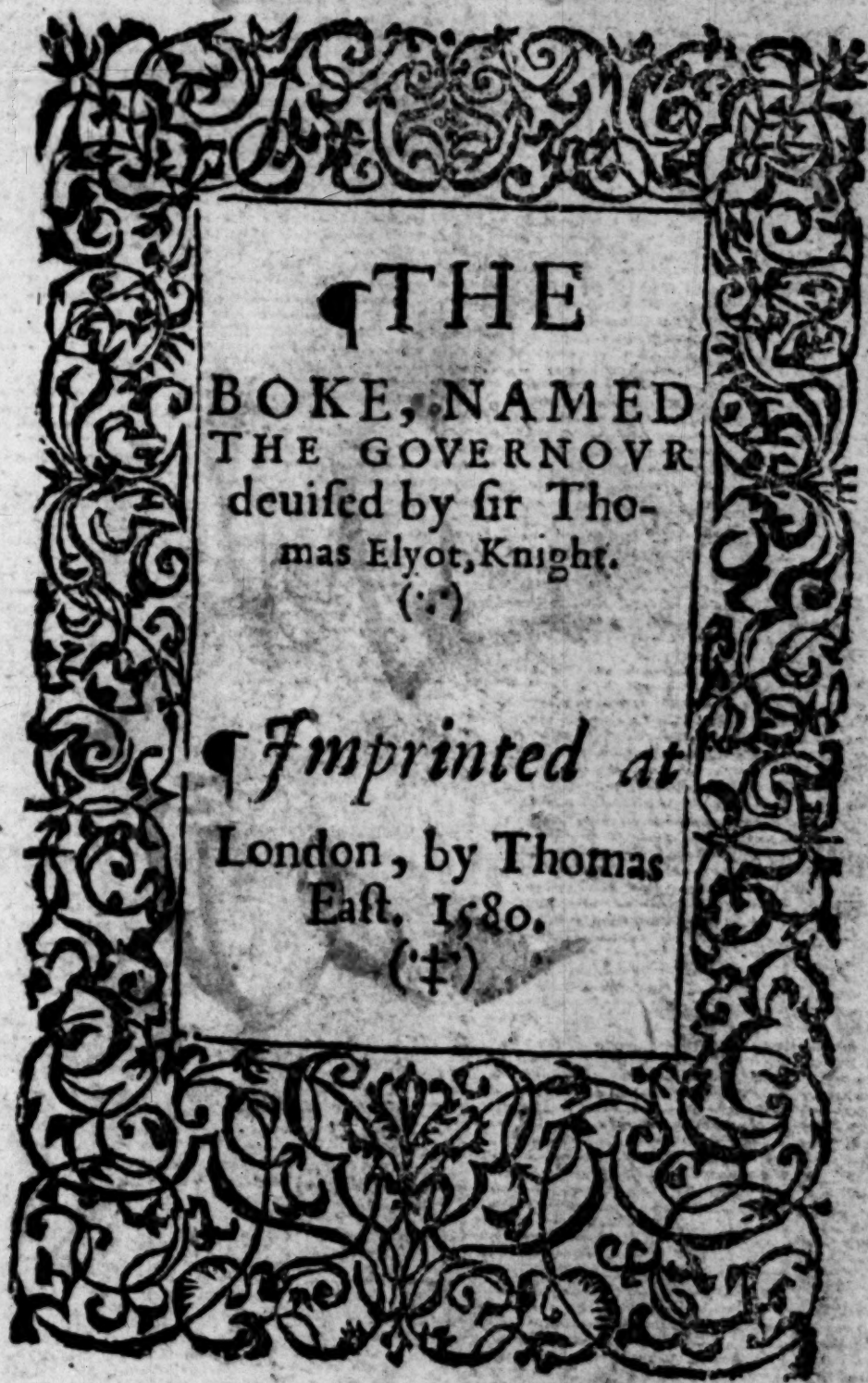


*John deo nonne*



THE  
BOKE, NAMED  
THE GOVERNOVR  
devised by sir Tho-  
mas Elyot, Knight.  
(.)

Imprinted at  
London, by Thomas  
East. 1580.  
(+)

*By J. East*





# *The Probleme of Syr*

Thomas Elyot knight, vnto the most  
noble and victorious Prince, king Henry  
the eight, by the grace of God, king of  
England, France and Ireland, de=  
fender of the fapth, and in earth  
of the Church of England  
and also of Ireland  
supreme head.



Late consideringe moste  
excellent prince, and mine  
only redoubted souereign  
Lorde, my ductye, that I  
owe to my natural coun=  
trepe, with my faith also  
of Allegaunce and Oth,  
where-with I am double bound vnto your  
Maiestie. Moze-ouer the accompt that I  
haue to render for that one little talent de=  
liuered to me, to employ (as I suppose) to  
the increase of vertue, I am as (God iudge  
me) violently stirred to diuulgat or set forth  
some parte of my studie, trusting there-by to  
acquite me of my duties to God, your high=  
nes, & this my countrey. wherfoze taking  
comfort and boldnesse, partly of your graces  
most beneuolent inclination toward the vni=  
uersall weale of your subiectes, partly in=  
flamed with zeale, I haue now enterprised  
A.ij. to

## The Proheme.

to describe in our bulgar tongue, the form of a iuste publike weale, which matter I haue gathered, as wel of the sayinges of most noble authours (Grekes & Latines) as by mine owne experience: I beyng continually traied in some daylye affayres of the publike weale of this your most noble realm, almost from my childhod, which attemptate is not of presumption to teach anye person, I my self hauing most nede of teaching: But only to the intent that menne, which will be studious about the weale publike, maye finde the thing there to expedient, compendiouslye witten. And for as much, as this presente booke treateth of the education of them, that here after may be deemed worthy to be gouernours of the publike weale vnder your hyghnesse, (which Plato assyrmeth to bee the first and chiefe parte of a publike weale: Salomon saying also, where gouernours be not, the people shall fall into ruine.) I therfore haue named it the Gouernour, and doe nowe dedicate it vnto your hyghnesse, as the first frutes of my study: verily trusting that your most excellent wisdom will ther-in esteeme my loyall hart & diligent endeavour, by the example of Artaxerxes, the noble king of Persia, who reiected not the poore husbandman, which offered to him his homelye hands full of cleane water, but most graciouslye receyued it with thanks, esteeming the present not after the value, but rather  
the



## The Proheme.

the will of the giuer . Semblably King Alexander reteyned with him the Poete Cherilus honourably, for wziting his Hystorpe, although that the Poet was but of a smal estimation, which that pzince did not for lacke of iudgement he being of excellent learning as discipule to Aristotle, but to the intent that his liberalytie employed on Cherilus, should animate oz giue courage to others much better learned, to contend with him in a semblable enterpryse. And if most vertuous pzince, I may perceiue your highnes to be heere with pleased, I shal soone after (God giuing me quyetnesse) present your grace, with the residue of my studie and labours, where in your highnes shall well perceiue, that I nothing esteeme so much in this world, as your royall estate (my most deere souereigne lord, and the publyke weale of my countrey) protesting vnto your excellent Maiestie, that wher I commend heerein any one vertue, oz dispraysle any one vyce, I meane the generall discription of the one and the other, without any other particular meaning to the reproche of anye one personne : to the whiche protestation, I am now dzyuen thzough the malygnitie of this present time, all disposed to malycious detraction. wherfore I moste humbly beseech your highnes, to dayne to be patrone and defendour of this lyttle worke, agaynste the assaultes of malygne enterpzetours : whiche fayne not to rente and deface

## The Table of

the renoune of wziters, they themselues being in nothing to the publike weale profitable : which is by no man sooner perceyued, than by your highnes, beeing both in wisdom, and very nobilitie equall to the moste excellent princes, whom I beseeche God ye maye surmount in long lyfe and perfect felicitie. Amen.

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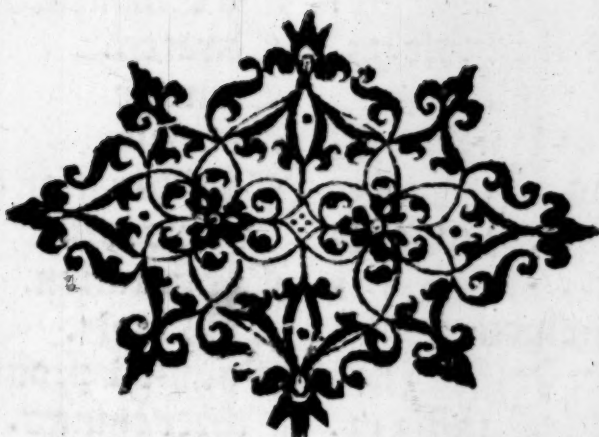
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# The first Booke.

I

The signification of a publique weale,  
and vvhy it is called in Latine  
Respublica.



**P**ublike weale is in sundry wise defined by Philosophers, but knowing by Experience, that the often repeticion of any thing of graue or sad importance, wil be tedious

to y<sup>e</sup> Readers of this worke, who perchance for the moze parte haue not bene trayned in learning cōteining semblable matter: I haue compiled one definition out of many, in as compēdious forme, as my pooze wit can devise: trusting that in those few wordes the true signification of a publike weale shall euidently appeare to them whom reason can satisfie.

**A** publike weale is a body liuing compact or made of fundry estates & degrees of men, which is disposed by the order of sequitie, and gouerned by the rule and inoderation of reason. In the latin tongue it is called Respublica, of the which the word Res, hath diuers significations, & doth not onely betoken that that is called a thing, which is distinct from a person, but also signifieth a state, condition, substance, and profite.

Publike  
weale.

Respublica.

**I**n our olde vulgar, profite is called weale, and it is called a wealthy countrey, wherein is all thing that is profitable: And hee is a wealthy

Profite.

A.

wealthy

## The Gouvernour.

**Publike.**

wealthie man that is rich in money and substance. Publike (as Varro saith) is deriued of People: which in Latine is called Populus. Wherefoze it seemeth that men haue ben long abused in calling Rempubicam, a common weale. And they which doe suppose it so to be called, for that that euery thing shold be to all men in common, without discrepāce of any estate or condition, be thereto moued moze by sensualitytie, then by any good reason or inclination to humanitie. And that shall soone appeare vnto them, that wil be satisfied either with authoritie, or with naturall order and example.

First the proper and true signification of the wordes, Publike and Commune, which be borrowed of the latine tongue, for the insufficiencie of our owne language, shal sufficiently declare the blyndnesse of them, which haue hetherto holden & mainteyned the said opinions. As I haue sayd, Publike tooke his beginning of people, which in Latine is Populus, in which word is contained all the inhabitants of a Realme or Citie, of what estate or condition soeuer they be.

**Populus.**

**Plebs.**

Plebs in English, is called the communaltie, which signifieth onely the multitude, wherein be contained the base and vulgar inhabitants, not aduanced to any honour or dignity: which is also vsed in our daily communication, for in y<sup>e</sup> citie of London, & other cities, they that be none aldermen or sheriffs be called comuners. And in the country at a sessions

sessions or other assembly, if no gentlemen be therat, the saying is, that ther was none but the communaltie, which proueth, that mine opinion, that Plebs in Latine, is in Englysh Communaltie, and Plebij be Communers. Plebeti.

And consequently there may appeare like diuersitie to be in English, betwen a publike weale and a common weale, as should be in Latine between Respublica, and Resplebia. Publike & common  
 And after that signification, if ther should be a common weale, either the comuners only must be wealthy, & the gentle and noble men needy & miserable: or els excluding gentility all men must be of one degree and sort, and a new name prouided. Forasmuch as Plebs in Latin, & comuners in english, be words only made for the discrepance of degrees, whet of proceedeth order: which in things, aswell naturall or supernaturall hath euer had such a preheminence, that therby the incomprehensible maiestie of God, as it were by a bright leme of a Torch or candle, is declared to the blinde inhabitants of this world. Order.

Moreover, take away Order from all things, what shoulde then remaine? Certes nothing, finally, except some man would imagine eftsoones Chaos, which of some is expounded, a confuse mixture. Chaos.

Also where is any lacke of order, needes must be perpetuall conflict. And in things subiect to nature, nothing of himselfe onely maye be nourished: but when hee hath destroyed that, wherewith he doth participate



## The Gouvernour,

by the order of his creation, he himself of necessity must then perish, wheroff ensueth vniuersall dissolution.

But nowe to proue by example of those things, that be within the compasse of mans knowledge, of what estimation order is, not onely among men but also with God, albeit his wisdom, bountie and magnificence, can be with no tongue or pen sufficiently expressed. Hath not he set degrees and estates in all his glorious workes.

First in his heauenly ministers, whome, as the churche affirmeth he hath constituted to be in diuers degrees, called Hierarchies. Also Christ saith, by his Euangelist, that in the house of his Father (which is God) bee many mansions.

Elements.

But to treat of that, which by naturall vnderstanding may bee comprehended. Beholde the foure Elements, wheroff the body of man is compacte, how they be set in their places, called spheres, higher or lower, according to the souereigntie of their natures: that is to say, the fire, as the most pure Element, hauing in it nothing, that is corruptible, in his place, is highest, and aboue other elements. The ayer, which next to the fire, is most pure in substance, is in the seconde sphere or place: The water, which is somewhat consolidate, and approacheth to corruption, is next vnto the earth: the earth which is of substance grosse and ponderous, is set of all elements, most lowest.

Behold

Behold also the order that God hath put generally in all his creatures, beginning at the most inferiour or base, and ascending upward: he made not onely hearbes to garnish the earth, but also trees of a more eminent stature, than hearbs: and yet in the one and the other, be degrees of qualtyes: some pleasant to beholde, some delycate or good in taste, other wholsome & medicinable, some commodious and necessary. Semblably in Byrdes beasts, and fishes, some be good for the sustenance of man: some beare things profitable to sundry vses, other be apte to occupation and labour: in diuers is strength and fiercenesse onely: in manye is both strength and commoditie: some other serue for pleasure: none of them haue all these qualtyes: fewe haue the more parte or many. specially beauty, strength, and profite. But where any is founde, that hath many of the sayde properties, hee is more sette by, then all the other, and by that estimation the order of his place & degree euidently appearath. So that euery kinde of trees, hearbs, birdes, beasts, and fishes, beside their diuersitie of formes, haue (as who saith) a peculiar disposition, appropriated vnto them by god their creator: so that in euery thing is order, and without Order may be nothing stable or permanent. And it maye not be called Order, except it doe containe in it, degrees high and base, according to the merite or estimation of the thing that is ordered.

## The Gouvernour.

Now to returne to the estate of mankinde, for whose vse all the sayd creatures wer ordeined of God, and excelleth them al, by prerogative of knowledge & wisdom. It seemeth that in him should be no lesse prouidence of god declare, then in y<sup>e</sup> inferior creatures: but rather with a more perfect order and disposition. And therefore it appeareth y<sup>e</sup> God giueth not to every man like giftes of grace, or of nature, but to some more, to some lesse, as it lyketh his diuine Maiestie. Neither be they in common (as fantastical fooles would haue al things) nor one man hath not al vertues and good qualtyes.

Vnderstanding.

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as vnderstanding is the most excellent gift, y<sup>e</sup> man can receiue in his creation, whereby he doth approach most nigh vnto the similitude of god, which vnderstanding is the principall parte of the soule: It is therefore congruent and according, that as one excelleth an other, in that influence, as thereby being nexte to the similitude of his maker: so should the estate of his person be aduanced in degree or place, where vnderstanding may profite, which is also distributed into sundrye vses, faculties, and offices, necessary for the lyuing and gouernance of mankinde. And lyke as the Angells, which bee most feruent in contemplation, be highest exalted in glory (after the opinion of holye Doctoures) and also the fire, which is the most pure of Elementes, and also doth clarifie the other inferior Elements,



lements, is deputed to the highest Sphere, or place. So in this world, they, which excell other in this influence of vnderstanding, and do imploy it to the deteining of other within the boundes of reason, and shewe them, how to prouide for their necessary lyuing: Such ought to be sette in a moze high place, than the residew, where they maye see, and also be seene, that by the meanes of their excelent witte shewed thzough the Glasse of authoritie, other of inferiour vnderstanding may bee directed to the waye of vertue and commodious lyuing.

And vnto men of such vertue, by very equitie appertaineth Honour, as their iust reward and duetie: which by other mens labours, must also be mainteined, according to their merits. Forasmuch as the sayde persons, excelling in knowledge, whereby other be gouerned: be ministers for the only profit & commoditie of them which haue not equal vnderstanding: wher they which do exercise artificiall science or corporall labour, do not trauaile for their superiours onely, but also for their owne necessitie. So the husbando-man feedeth himselfe, and the choth-maker: and the cloth-maker apparaileth himselfe, & the husbandman, they both succour other artificers, other artificers them: they & other artificers, thein that be gouernours.

But they that be gouernours (as I before sayd) nothing doe acquire by the sayde influence of knowledge for their own neces-

## The Gouvernour.

titles, but do employe all the powers of their wittes, and their diligence to the onely preservation of other their inferiours. Among which inferiours also behoueth to bee a disposition & order according to reason, that is, that the slouthfull or idle person, do not participate with him, that is industrious, & taketh payne, wherby the fruits of his labors should be diminished, wherein shoulde bee none equalitie, but theroff shold proceed discouragement, and finally dissolution, for lacke of prouision. Wherefore it can none otherwise stande with reason, but that the estate of the person in preheminance of lyuing, should be esteemed with his vnderstanding labour, and pollicie: where-vnto must be added an augmentation of honour and substaunce, which not only impresseth a reuerence, wherof proceedeth due obediēce among subiects, but also inflameth men naturally inclyned to idlenesse, or sensual appetite, to couette like fortune, and for that cause, to dispose them to studie or occupation.

Nowe to conclude my first assertion or argument. Where all thing is common, there lacketh order: and where order lacketh, there all thing is odious and vncomely. And that haue we in daily Experience, for the pannes and pottes garnishe well the kitchen, and yet shold they be to the chamber none ornament. Also the beddes, testars and pillowes, beseme not the hal, no more then the carpets and cushions become the stable. Semblably the

## The first Booke.

5

the pottter and tinker, onely perfect in their craft, shal little do in the ministracion of Justice. A ploughman or carter shal make but a feble answer to an Ambassado. And a weaver or fuller shold be an vnmeete capitaine of an army, or any other office of a gouernoure. Wherefoze to conclude, it is onely a publyke weale, where, like as God hath disposed the said influence of vnderstanding, is also apointed degrees & places, according to the excellency therof, & therto also would be substance conuenient, and necessarye for the oznamente of the same, which also impzesseth a reuerēce and due obedience to the vulgar people or cōminalty, and without that it can be no more said, that ther is a publyke weale, than it may be affirmed, that a house without his proper and necessary oznamentes, is wel and sufficiently furnished.

That one souerigne gouernour ought to be in a publyke weale. And what damage hath hapened, vwhere a multitude hath had equall authoritie vwithout any soueraingne. Cap. ij.



Like as to a castell or fortres suffiseth one power or soueraine & where any moe be of like power & authoritie, seldome commeth the worke to perfection, or being al ready made, wher the

A. v.

one



## The Gouvernour.

One dilygently ouerseeth, and other neglece-  
seth, in that contention all is subuerted & cō-  
mieth to ruin. In semblable wise doth a pub-  
like weale, that hath mo chief gouernors the  
one. Example we may take of the Greekes, a-  
mong whom in diuers Cyties, were dyuers  
formes of publike weales, gouerned by mul-  
titudes: where in one was most tollerable,  
where the gouernaunce and rule was alway  
permitted to them, which excelled in vertue,  
& was in þ Greke tongue called Aristocratia,  
in Latin Optimorum potentia in English, þ  
rule of men of best disposition, which þ The-  
banes of long time obserued.

An other publike weale was amonge the  
Athenienses, where equality was of estate a-  
mong the people, and only by their whole cō-  
sent their city & dominions were gouerned:  
which might wel be called a mōster with ma-  
ny heads, noz neuer it was certeine oz stable,  
& oftentime they banished, oz slew the best ci-  
tizens, which by their vertue and wisdom  
had most profited þ publike weale. This ma-  
ner of gouernaunce was called in Greke De-  
mocratia, in latin Popularis potentia, in En-  
glishe, the rule of the communaltie. Of these  
two gouernances none may be sufficient. For  
in the first which consisteth of good mē, ver-  
tue is not so constant in a multitude, but that  
some being once in authozitye, be incensed w  
glory, some with ambition, other with coue-  
tise and desire of trespure oz possessions, wher-  
by they fal into contētion. And finally, where  
any

Democra-  
tia,

## The first Booke.

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any atchiueth the superiozitie, & whole gouernance is reduced vnto a few in nūber, which fearing the multitude, and their mutabilitie, to the intent to keepe them in dzed to rebell, ruleth by terroz & cruelty, thinking thereby, to keepe them self in surety. Notwithstanding rancour coerced, and longe detained in a narrow rounge, at the last brasteth out, with intollerable violence, and bzingeth al to confusion. For the power, that is practised to the hurt of many, can not continue.

The popular estate, if it any thing do vary from equalitie of substance, or estimation, or that & multitude of people haue ouer much libertie, of necessitie one of these inconueniencies must happē, either tyzanny, wher he that is to much in fauor, would be eleuate, & suffer none equality, or els into the rage of a cōmunalty, which of all rules is most to be feared. For like as the commons, if they feele some seueritie, doe humbly serue and obey, so where they imbracing a lycence, refuse to be bzideled, do sling and plunge: and if they once thzow downe their gouerno2, they order euery thing without iustice, only with vengance and cruelty, and with incōparable difficulty, and vnneth by any wisedome, be pacified and bzought againe into order.

Wherfoze vndoubtedly, the best & the most sure gouernāce, is by one king or p2ince, whiche ruleth only for the weale of his people: & that manner of gouernance is best approued,  
and

## The Gouvernour.

and hath longest continued, and is most ancient. For who can denye, but that all thing in heauen and earth is gouerned by one God, by one perpetuall order, by one pzouidence: One Sunne ruleth ouer y day, & one Moone ouer the nighte. And to descende downe to the earth.

Bee.

In a little beaste, whiche of all other is most to be meruailed at, I meane the Bee, is lefte to man by nature, as it seemeth, a perpetual Figure, of a iust gouernaunce or rule: who haue amonge them, one pzincipall Bee, for their gouernour, which excelleth all other in greatnesse, yet hath hee no pzikke or sting, but in him is moze knowledge then in the residewe. For if the day folowing shall bee faire and dzye, and that the Bees may issue out of their stalles, without perill of rayne, or beheiment winde, in the mozning earely he calleth them, making a noyse, as it were the sownd of a Horne, or a Trumpet, and with that, all the residue prepare them to laboure, and flyeth abzode, gathering nothings, but that shall be sweete and profitable, although they sit often times on hearbes, and other thinges, that be venemous and stincking.

The Capitaine him selfe, laboureth not for his sustinaunce, but all the other for him: hee only seeth, that if any Dzone, or other vnprofitable Bee, entreth into the hyue, and consumeth the Hony, gathered by other, that he be immediatly expelled from that company. And when there is a vother number of Bees encreased



## The first Booke.

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creased, they semblably haue also a captaine, which be not suffered to contynue w<sup>th</sup> the other, wherefoze this new company, gathered in a swarme, hauing their captaine amonge them, and enuironing him, to p<sup>re</sup>serue him from harme, issue fo<sup>r</sup>th seking a new habitation whiche they finde in some tree exeepte with some pleasaunt noyse, they be allured & conueyed vnto an other hyne.

I suppose, who seriously beholdeth this example, and hath any commendable wit, shal thereof gather much matter, to the fourming of a publike weale. But bicause I may not be long therin, cōsidering my purpose. I wold the reder h<sup>er</sup>eof if he be lerned, should repaire to the Georgikes of Virgile, or to Plini, or Columilla where hee shall finde the example moze ample, and better declared.

And if any desireth to haue the gouernance of one person, p<sup>ro</sup>ued by histories, let him first reso<sup>r</sup>t to the holy Scripture, where hee shall finde that almighty G O D commaunded Moses onely, to bring his elected people out of captiuitie, giuing onely to him that authozitie, without appointing to him any other assistance of equall power or dignitie, excepte in the message to King Pharao where-in Aaron, rather as a minister then a companion, went with Moses. But onely Moses conducted the people through the redde sea, he onely gouerned them 40. yeares in deserte. And bicause Dathan and Abiron disdained his rule, and coueted to be equall

Moses.

Aaron.

Dathan and Abiron.

with

## The Gouvernour.

The conno-  
saile of  
Hietro.

with him, the earth opened, & fire issued out and swallowed them in, with all their whole familie, and confederates, to the number of 14700. And although Hietro, Moses father in lawe, counsailed him to departe his importable labours in continual iudgements, vnto the wise men, that were in his companie: hee notwithstanding, still retained the so-ueraintie, by Gods commaundemēt, vntil a little before he dyed, hee resigned it to Iosue, assigned by God to be ruler after him.

Iosue suc-  
cessour to  
Moses.

Semblably after the deathe of Iosue, by the space of 246. yeares, succaded from time to time, one ruler among the lewes, whiche was chosen for his excelencie in vertue, and specially iustice, wherefore he was called the iudge vntill the Israclites desired of almighty God to let them haue a king, as other people had: who appointed to them Saule, to bee their king, who excelled all other in stature.

Saul.

Roboaz.

And so successiuelly one king gouerned all the people of Israel, vnto the time of Roboas, son of the noble King Salomon. Who being vnlke to his father in wisdom, practised tyzanny among his people. wherefore ix. partes of them, whiche they called Trybus, forsoke him, and elected Hieroboam, late seruant to Salomon, to be their king, onely the x. part remayning with Roboaz. And so in that realme were continually two Kinges, vntill the King of Mede had depopulate the country, and brought the people in captiuitie to the Citie of Babylon: So that during the

time

time, that two kinges raygned ouer the  
**Iewes**, was euer continuall battaile among  
 themselues: where if one kinge had alway  
 raygned to **Dauid** or **Salomon**, of likelihode  
 the countrey shoulde not so soone haue bene  
 brought in captiuitie.

Also in the time of the **Machabeis**, as  
 long as they had but one **Bysshoppe**, which  
 was their ruler, and was in the steade of a  
**Prince**, they valyantly resisted the **Gentiles**:  
 and as well the **Romaines**, then great **Lor-**  
**des** of the worlde, as **Persians**, and **Dyuers** o-  
 ther **Realmes**, desired to haue with them a-  
 mitie and aliance: and all the inhabitaunce of  
 that countrey, liued in a great weale and qui-  
 etnesse. But after that by **simony** and ambi-  
 tion, there happened to be two **Bysshoppes**,  
 which deuyded their authoryties, and also the  
**Romaines** had deuided the **Realme** of **Iudea**  
 to foure **Princes**, called **Tetrarchas**, and also  
 constituted a **Romaine** captaine or president  
 ouer them: among the heads there neuer ce-  
 sed to bee sedition, and perpetuall discorde:  
 whereby at the last the people was destroyed,  
 and the countrey brought to desolation & hor-  
 rible barrennesse.

The **Greekes**, which were assembled to  
 reuenge the reproche of **Menelaus**, that hee  
 toke of the **Troyans** by the rauishing of **He-**  
**lene** his wife, did not they by one assente e-  
 lecte **Agamemnon** to be their **Emperour** or  
 capitaine: obeying him as their soueraigne,  
 studyng the siege of **Troy**: all thoughe that  
 they



## The Gouvernour.

Princes of  
Greece.

Agamem-  
non.

Maiestie  
Nestor.  
Vlisses.

they had diuers excellent Princes not onely equall to him, but also excellig him as in prowes Achilles, and Ajax Thelemonion: in wisdom Nestor, and Vlisses, and his owne brother, Menelaus: to whome they mighte haue giuen equall authoritie with Agamemnon: but those wise Princes considered, that without a generall Captaine, so manye persons as were there, of diuers realmes gathered together, should be by no meanes wel gouerned. Wherefoze Homer called Agamemnon the sheperd of people. They rather were contented to be vnder one mannes obedience, than seuerally to vse their authorities, or to ioyne in one power and dignitie, where by at the last shoulde haue soured dissention amonge the people, they being seperatelye inclined toward their naturall soueraigne Lord as it appeared in the particuler contention, that was betwene Achilles and Agamemnon for their concubines, where Achilles, renouncing the obedience, that he with al other princes had befoze promised, at the battaile first enterprised against the Troyans. For at that time no little murmur, and sedition was moued in the host of the Greeks, which notwithstanding was wonderfully pacified: and the army vnscttered, by y<sup>e</sup> maiesty of Agamemnon, ioyning to him counsailloutes, Nestor & the witty Vlisses.

But to retourne againe, Athens and other Cities of Greece, when they had abandoned Kinges, and concluded to lyue as it were

were in a comminalty, which abusiuely they called equality, howe long time did any of them continue in peace? yea what vacation had they from the warres? or what noble man had they, which auanced the honour and weale of their citie, whom they dyd not banish or slea in prison? Surely it shall appere to them that will rede Plutarche, or Emilius Probus, in the liues of Miltiades, Cimon, Themistocles, Aristides, and dyuers other noble and valiant capitaines: which is to long here to reherse.

In likewise the Romaines, during the <sup>Kinges in Rome</sup> time that they were vnder Kinges: which was by the space of Cxliij. yeres, were well gouerned, nor neuer was amonge them discord or sedition: But after that by the perswasion of Brutus and Colatinus, whose wife (Lucrecia) was rauished by the sonne of Tarquine, king of Romaines, not onely <sup>Lucrece</sup> the saide Tarquine and all his posteritye, were exiled out of Rome for euer, but also it was finally determined amonge the people, that neuer after they woulde haue a kynge raign ouer them. Consequently the commynalty moze and moze encroched a licens, and at the last compelled the Senate to suffer them to chose yerely among the, <sup>Tribunes</sup> gouernours of their own estate & condition, whome they called Tribunes: vnder whom they receiued such audacitie and power, that they finallye obtained the highest authozity in the publike

B. weale:

## The Gouvernour.

Dictator.

Civil wars

reale: insomuch, that oftentimes they dyd  
repeale the actes of the Senate, and to those  
Tribunes might a man appeale from the se=  
nate or anye other office or dignitie. But  
what came thereof in conclusion: Surelve  
when there was any difficult warre iminy=  
nent, they were constrained to elect one soue=  
raigne and chiefe of al other, whom they na=  
med Dictator, as it were commaunder, from  
whom it was not lawfull for any man to ap=  
peale. But bicause ther appeared to be in him  
the prillinate authoritie and maiestye of a  
kinge, they woulde no longer suffer him to  
continue in that dignitie, than by the space of  
vi. monethes, excepte he then resigned it, and  
by the consent of the people estsones dyd re=  
sume it. Finally, vntill Octavius Augustus  
had destroyed Antony, and also Brutus: and  
finished all the ciuill warres (that were so  
called bicause they were betweene the same  
selfe Romaine Citizeng) the City of Rome  
was neuer long quyet fro factions or sedicy=  
ons amonge the people. And if the Nobles  
of Rome had not ben men of excelente lear=  
ninge, wysedome, and prowess, and that the  
Senate, the moste noble counsaile in all the  
worlde, whiche was firste ordained by Ro=  
mulus, and encreased by Tullus Hostilius,  
the thirde king of Romaines, had not continu=  
ed, and with great difficultye retained their  
authoritie, I suppose verely, that the cite of  
Rome had bene vtterly desolate, soone after  
the



the expelling of Tarquine. And if it had bene  
esttsones renued, it should haue ben xx. times  
destroyed, befoze y<sup>e</sup> time that Augustus raig=  
ned: so much discorde was euer in the City,  
foz lacke of one gouernour.

But what neede we to serche so far from  
vs, sence we haue sufficient examples neare  
vnto vs: Beholde the estate of Florence and  
Gene, noble cityes of Italy, what calamitpe  
haue they both sustayned by their own facti=  
ons, foz lacke of a continual gouernour.

Florence &  
Gene.

Ferrara, and the most excellent city of Ve=  
nice, hauing Dukes, seildome suffer damage  
except it happen by outwarde hostilitie.

Ferrara

We haue also an example at home, which  
is most necessary to be noted.

After that the Saxons by treason hadde  
expelled out of England the Britons, whiche  
were the auncient inhabitantes, this realme  
was deuided into sundrye regions, oz king=  
domes. What misery was the people then  
in: How this most noble Isle of the world  
was decerpte and rent in peeces: the people  
pursued and hunted lyke wolves, oz other  
beastes sauage, none industrie auayled, no  
strength defended, no richesse profited. Who  
would than haue desired to haue bene rather  
a man then a dogge, when men eyther with  
sweard, oz with hunger perished, hauing no  
profit oz sustinance of their own cozne oz cat  
tell, which by mutuall warre was continu=  
allye destroyed: yet the Dogges, eyther tas=  
king

England  
diuided.

## The Governour.

king that that men coulde not quietly come by, on feeding on the dead bodyes, which on euery part lay scattered plentuously, byd satisfie their hunger.

King Edgar.

Where sinde ye any good lawes, that at that tyme were made and vlsed : or any commendable monument, of any science or crafte in this realme occupied , suche iniquitie seemed to be than, that by the multitude of soueraigne gouernours, all thinges had beene brought to confusion, if the noble Kinge Edgar had not reduced & monarchy to his pristine estate and figure: whiche brought to passe, reason was reuyued, and people came to conformitye, and the realme began to take comfort, and to shewe some bysage of a publyke weale: and so (lauded be God) haue continued: but not being alwaye in like estate or condition. Albeit, it is not to be dispaired, but that the king our soueraigne Lorde nowe raigning, & this realme, alwaye hauinge one prince, lyke vnto his highnesse, equall to the auncient princes in vertue & courage, it shall be reduced (god so disposing) vnto a publike weale, excellling all other in pzeeminence of vertue, and abundance of thinges necessary.

But forasmuch as I doe well percepue, that to write of the office or dutye of a soueraigne gouernour or prince, farre exccadeth the compasse of my learning, holy Scripture affirminge, that the hearts of Princes be in Gods owne handes and disposition, I wyl there

therefoze keepe my pen within the space that  
 is described to me by the.ij. noble Masters,  
 reason, learning, & experience. And by their  
 enseygnement oz teaching. I will ordinatedly  
 treat. of the two parts of a publike weale,  
 wheroff the one shall be named due admini-  
 stration, the other necessary occupatiō, which  
 shall be deuided into two volumes. In the  
 first shall be comprehended the best forme of  
 education oz bzinging vp of noble childzen,  
 from their natiuitie, in such manner as they  
 may be found worthy and also able to be go-  
 uernors of a publike weale. The second vo-  
 lume, which God graunting me quietnesse &  
 libertie of minde, I will shortly after sende  
 forth: It shall containe all the remnaunt  
 which I can either by learning oz experiēce  
 finde apt to the perfection of a iust publyke  
 weale: in the which I will so endeauour my  
 selfe, that all men of what estate oz condition  
 soeuer they be, shall finde therein occasion to  
 be alway vertuously occupied: and not with-  
 out pleasure, if they be not of the schooles of  
 Aristippus oz Apitius, of whom the one sup-  
 posed felicitie to be only in lechery, the other,  
 in delycate feeding & gluttony. From whose  
 sharpe talons and cruell speach, I be-  
 seech all gentle Readers to defend  
 these worke, which for theyz  
 commoditie is onely com-  
 piled.

Due admini-  
 stration.  
 Occupatiō.

B.ij.

To



## The Gouvernour.

That in a publike weale ought to be inferiour  
gouvernours called Maieſtrates, which  
ſhall be appointed or choſen by the  
ſouereigne Gouvernour. Cap. 3.

**H**ere bee both reaſons and exam-  
ples vndoubtedly infinite, where-  
by may be proued that ther can be  
no perfect publike weale, without  
one capital and ſouereign gouvernour, which  
may long endure oz continue. But ſince one  
mortall man can not haue knowledge of all  
things done in a realme oz large dominion, &  
at one time diſcuſſe al controuerſies, reſozn  
all tranſgreſſions, and exployt al conſultati-  
ons, concluded as well for outwarde as in-  
ward affaires: it is expedient, and alſo need-  
full, that vnder the capitall gouernoꝝ be ſun-  
dꝝe meane authorities, as it were ayding  
him in the diſtribution of Juſtice in ſundꝝe  
parts of a huge multitude: whereby his la-  
bours beeing leuigate, and made moze tolle-  
rable, he ſhal gouerne with the better aduiſe,  
and conſequently with a moze perfect gover-  
naunce. And as Ieſus Syrach ſayeth. The  
multitude of wiſe men is the wealth of the  
worlde. They which haue ſuch authorities  
to them committed, may bee called inferiour  
gouvernours, hauing reſpect to their office oz  
ductie, where in is alſo a representation of  
gouernaunce. Albeit they be named in Latin  
Magiſtra-

Magistratus. And heereafter I intend to cal them **M**agistrates, lacking an other more conuenient word in English: but that wil I do in the seconde parte of this worke, where I purpose to write of their sundry offices or effects of their authoritie.

But forasmuch as in this part I intend to write of their education & vertue in manners, which they haue in commō with princes, inasmuch as thereby they shall aswell by example, as by authoritie, order wel the, which by their capitall **G**ouernour, shall bee to their rule committed, I may without annoyance of any man, name them **g**ouernours at this time, appropriating to y<sup>e</sup> **s**ouereignes names of kings and princes, since of a longe custome, these names in common forme of speaking be in a higher preheminance & estimation then **g**ouernours. That in euery common weale ought to bee a greate number of such manner of persons, it is partly proued in the chapter next before written, where I haue spoken of the commoditie of order.

Also Reason and common Experience playnly declare, that where the dominion is Politi. li. 4. large and populous, there it is conuenient, that a Prince haue many inferiour **G**ouernours, which bee named of Aristotle his eyes, eares, handes, and legges: which if they be of the best sorte (as hee furthermore sayeth) It seemeth impossible, a countrey not to be well gouerned by good Lawes. And except

B iij.                      excellent

## The Gouvernour.

excellent vertue & learning doe inable a man of the base estate of the communaltie, to bee thought of al men worthy to be so much aduanced, els such Gouvernozs would be chosen out of that estate of men, which be called worshopfull, if among them may be founden a sufficient number, oz nate with vertue and wisdom, meete for such purpose, and that for sundry causes.

First, it is of good congruence, that the superiours in condition oz behauour, should haue also preheminance in administration, if they be not inferiour to other in vertue.

Also they hauing of their owne reuenues certeine, whereby they haue competent subsaunce to liue without taking rewardes: it is lykely that they will not be so desirous of lucre, wheroff may be ingendred corruption, as they, which haue very little oz nothing so certeine.

Gentlemen

Moreover, wher vertue is in a gentleman, it is commonly mixt with more suffraunce, more affabilitie & mildenes, than for y more part it is in a person rural, oz of a very base linage, and when it hapneth otherwise, it is to be accompted loathsome and monstrous.

Furthermore, where the person is worshopful, his gouernance though it be sharpe, is to the people more tollerable, & they therewith the lesse grutch oz be disobedient.

Also such men hauing substance in goods by certein and stable possessions, which they  
may



may appoꝛtionate to their owne lyuing and  
bꝛinging vp of their childeꝛen in learning and  
vertues, may (if nature repugne not) cause  
them to bee lo instructed and furnished to-  
ward the administration of a publike weale,  
that a pooꝛe mans sonne, onely by his natu-  
rall witte without other helpe, neuer oꝛ sel-  
dome maye attaine to the lyke. Towarde  
the which instruction I haue prepared this  
worke.

The education or forme of bringing vp  
of the childe of a Gentleman, which  
is to haue authoritie in a publike  
weale. Capitulo. 4.

As much as all noble Authoꝛs do con-  
clude, and common Experience pꝛoueth,  
that where the Gouernours of Realmes  
and Cities be founde adozned with vertues,  
and do employ their studie and minde to the  
publike weale, as wel to the augmentation  
thereoff, as to the establisshing and long con-  
tinuance of the same, there a publike weale  
must needes be both honourable and weal-  
thy.

To the intent to declare how such perso-  
nages may be prepared. I will vse y policie  
of a wise & cūning gardeiner, who purposing  
to haue in his gardē a fine & pꝛecious hearb,

Education  
of noble  
vvits.

W. v.

that

## The Gouvernour.

that should be to him & all other, repayzyng therto, excellently, commodious or pleasant: he will first search thzoughout his gardein, where he can finde the most melow and fertile earth, and there-in will he put the seede of the hearbe to grow and be nourished, and in most dilygent wise attend, that no weede be suffred to grow or appzoch nigh vnto it: and to the ende it maye thziue the faster, as soone as the foyme of an hearbe once appeareth, he wil set a vessel of water by it, in such wise, that it maye continuallye distill on the roste sweete droppes, and as it springeth in stalke, vndersette it with some thing, that it bzeake not, and alwaye keepe it cleane from weedes. Lyke order wil I ensue in the fozying the gentle wits of noble mens childzē, who from the wombes of their mother, shall be made proper or apt to the gouernance of a publyke weale.

Nurses  
how they  
ought to be  
chosen.

First they, vnto whome the bzinging bp of such childzen apperteineth, they ought against the time as their mother shall bee of them delyuered, to be sure of a nurse, which should be of no seruile condition, or byce notable. For as some auntient wziters do suppose, oftentimes the childe sucketh the byce of his nurse, with the milke of hir pay. And also obserue & she bee of nature or ripe age, not vnder .xx. yeares, or aboue .xxx. hir body also being cleane from al sickenesse, or deformaty, and hauing hir complexion most of the  
right

right and pure sanguine. Forasmuch as the milke thereof comming, excelleth all other, both in sweetnesse and substance.

Wherefore, to the nurse should be appointed an other woman of approued vertue, discretion, and grauitie, who shall not suffer in the childes presence to bee shewed any act or tache dishonest, or any wanton or vncleane word to be spoken. And for that cause all men, except phisitions only, should be excluded and kept out of the nursery.

A gouern  
nes or drie  
nurse.

Perchaunce some will scozne me, for that I am so serious, saying, that there is no such damage to be feared in an infant, who for tendernesse of years, hath not yet vnderstanding, to discerne good from euill. And yet no man will deny, but in that innocencie, he will discerne milke from butter, & bread from pap, and ere he can speake, he will with his hand or countenaunce signifie which hee desireth.

And I verily suppose, that in the braines and harts of young children, which be members spirituall, whiles they be tender, & the lyttle slips of reason begin in them to burgeon, there may happe by euill custome some pestiferous deaw of vyce to pearce the sayde members, and infect and corrupt the soft and tender buddes, wherby the fruite may grow wylde, & sometime containe in it feruent and mortall poyson, to the vtter destruction of a realme.

And



## The Gouvernour,

Infancy.

And we haue in dayly experience, that lytle Infants assaye to followe, not onely the wordes, but also the factes and gesture of them, that be prouect in yeres. For we daily heare to our great heauines, children sweare great oathes, and speake lascinious and vn-cleane wordes, by the example of other, whom they heare: whereat the lewd parents do reioyce, soone after, or in this worlde, or else where, to their great payne & torment. Contrariwise, we behold some children, kneelyng in their game before Images, and holding vp their little white handes, moue their pretie mouths as they were praying: other going and singing, as it wer in procession, wher by they doe expresse their disposition, to the imitation of those things, be they good or euil, which they vsually se or heare. Wherefore not only Princes, but also al other children, from their nourses pappes, are to be kept diligently from & hearing or seing of any vice or euil talke. And in continent as soone as they can speake, it behoueth with most pleasant allurings, to instil in them sweet manners and vertuous custome.

Also to prouide for them such companions and playe fellowes, as shall not do in theyr presence anye reprochable acte, or speake any vn-cleane word or oathe, neyther to aduance them with flatterie, remembryng their Nobilitie, or anye other lyke thing, wherein they might glorie: vnlesse it be to  
pre=

perswade them to vertue, or to withdrawe  
them from vice, in the remembryng to them  
the danger of their euill example. For noble  
men more greuously offend by their example,  
than by their deede, yet often remembrance  
to them of their estate, may happen to radi-  
cate in their heartes intollerable pride, the  
most daungerous popson to noblenesse.  
Wherefore there is required to be there-in  
much cautele and sobernesse.

The order of learning, that a noble man  
should be trained in, before he come  
to the age of seuen yerer. Cap. 5.



One old authoꝝ hold o-  
pinion, & before the age of  
vij. yerer, a childe should  
not be instructed in let-  
ters, but those wziters  
were either Grecks or La-  
tines, among whom al do-  
ctrine and sciences were in their maternall  
tōgues, by reason wherof they saued all that  
long time, which at this day is spent in vn-  
derstanding perfectly the Greeke or Latin.

Wherefore it requireth nowe a longer time  
to the vnderstanding of bothe. Therefore &  
infelicitie of our time and country compelleth  
vs to encroche somewhat vpon the yerer of  
childzen, and specially of noble men, that they  
may sooner attain to wisedome and grauitie  
than

## The Governour.

thā private persons: consideringe, as I haue  
saide, their charge and example, whiche a=  
boue all thinge is most to be esteemed. Not=  
withstanding I would not haue them infoz=  
ced by violence to lerne, but according to the  
counsell of Quintilian to be sweetely allured  
thereto, with praises, and such pretie giftes  
as childzen deelyte in. And their first letters  
to be painted or lymned in pleasaunte man=  
ner: wherein childzen of gentle courage haue  
much delectation. And also there is no bet=  
ter alectiue to noble wittes, then to endure  
them in a contention with theyr inferiour  
companyons, they sometime purposelye suf=  
fering the more noble childzen to vanquish,  
and as it were giuing to them place and so=  
ueraintye, though in deede the inferiour  
childzen haue more learninge. But there can  
be nothing more conuenient, then by littell  
and little to traine and exercise them in spea=  
king of Latin, informing them to knowe  
first the names in Latin of all thinges that  
come in sighte, and to name all the partyes  
of their bodyes: and giuing them somewhat  
that they couet or desire in most gentil man=  
ner to teache them to aske it againe in La=  
tin. And if by this meanes they may be in=  
duced to vnderstande and to speake Latin, it  
shall afterwarde bee lesse grieve to them in a  
manner, to learne any thing, where they vn=  
derstand the language, wherein it is witten.  
And as touchinge grammer there is at this  
day



have better introductions, and more facile then ever before were made, concerning as well both Greeke as Latin.

And it is no reproche to a noble man, to instructe his owne childzen, or at the leaste wayes, to examine them by the waye of dalliance or solace, consideringe that the emperor Octavius Augustus, disdayned not to reade the workes of Citerg and Vergile, to his childzen and newewes. And why shoulde not noble men rather so doe, then teach their childzen how at dise and cardes they may cunninglye lese and consume their owne trespure and substance?

Instruction  
in infancy.

Moreover, teaching representeth the authoritie of a prince, wherfore Dionise, King of Cycyle, when he was for tyzanny expelled by his people, he came into Italy, and there, in a commune schoole, taughte Grammer, wherewith when he was of his enemies embrayded, and called a schoole master, he answered them. That although Sicilians had exyled him, yet in despite of them all he reigned: noting thereby the authoritie that hee had over his scholers. Also when it was of him demaunded, what auayled hym Plato, or Phylosophy, wherin he had ben studious, he answered. That they caused him to sustein aduersity patiently, and made hys exile to bee to him: more facile and easie, whiche courage & wisdom considered of his people they eftsones restored him vnto his realme,  
and

## The Gouvernour.

and estate royall, where if he had procured against them hostility or warres, or had returned into Sicile with any violence, I suppose the people woulde alwaye haue resisted and kept him in perpetuall exile: as the Romans dyd the proude Kinge Tarquine, whose sonne rauished Lucrece. But to returne to my purpose.

It shalbe expedient, that a noble mannes sonne, in his infancye, haue with him continuallye, onelye suche as maye accustome him by little and little, to speake pure and elegant Latin. Semblablye the nourishes and other woemen about him, if it be possible, to doe the same: or at the leaste waye, that they speake no English, but that which is cleane, polite, perfectly, and articularly pronounced, omitting no letter or sillable, as folishe women oftentimes do of a wantonnesse, where by diuers Noble menne, and Gentlemennes childzen (as I do at this day know) haue attained corrupt and foule pronunciation.

This industry vsed in forming little infantes, who shall doubt, but that they (not lacking naturall wit) shall bee apte to receiue learning when they come to mo yeaeres: And in this wyse may they be instructed, without any violence or inforlinge: vsinge the moze parte of the tyme, vntill they come to the age of vii. yeres in suche disportes as do appertayne to childzen, wherein is no resemblance or similitude of vice.

At

**E**t At what age a tutour should be provided, and what apperteineth to his office to doe. Cap.vi.

**A**fter a childe is come to seven yeares of Age, I holde it expedient, that he be taken from the company of women: saying that he may haue one yeare or two at the moste, an aunciente and sadde matrone attendinge on him in his chamber, which shall not haue anye young woman in hir compaignye: For though there be no perill of offence in that tender and innocent age, yet in some childzen Nature is more prone to vice then to vertue, and in the tender wyttes bee sparkes of voluptuositie: which nourished by any occasion or obiecte, encrease oftentimes into so terrible a fire, that therewithall vertue and reason is consumed. Wherefore to eschue that daunger, the most sure counsaile is, to withdraue him from al company of women, and to assigne vnto him a tutoz, which shoulde bee an auncient and worshipfull man, in whome is approued to be muche gentlenesse mixt with grauity, and as nighe as can be such one, as the childe, by imitation folowing, may growe to bee excellent. And if he be also learned, he is the more commendable.

Peleus the father of Achilles, commytted  
 C. the



## The Gouvernour.

Phenix Achilles tutor. Alexander the great, Epaminondas tutour to king Philip.

the gouernance of hys son to Phenix, which was a straüger bozne, who as well in speaking elegantly, as in doing valyantly, was maister of Achilles, as Homer saith.

Howe much profited it to King Philip, father to the great Alexander, that hee was delynered in hostage to the Thebans, where he was kepte and brought vp vnder the gouernance of Epaminondas, a noble and balliant capteine, of whome he receiued suche learning, aswel in actes marciall, as in other lyberall sciences, that he excelled all other kinges that were befoze his time of Greece: and finally as well by wisdom as prowes subdued all that countrey:

Leonidas tutor to king Alexander.

Semblably he ordeyned for his sonne Alexander a noble tutoz called Leonidas, vnto whom for his wisdom, humanitie, and learning, he committed the rule & preheminence ouer all the maisters and seruantes of Alexander. In whome notwithstandinge, was such a famillier vice, whiche Alexander apprehending in childehode, coulde neuer abandon, some suppose it to be fury and hastines, other superfluous drinkeing of wine, whiche of them it were, it is a good warning for gentlemen, to be the moze serious, in serching not onely for the vertues, but also for the vices of them, vnto whose tuicion and gouernance they will commit their childzen.

Office of a Tutor.

The office of a tutour is, first to knowe the nature of his pupill, that is to say, wher to

to he is moſte inclyned oz diſpoſed, and in what thing he ſetteth his moſte delectation oz appetite. If he be of nature curteis, pyteous, and of a free and liberall heart, it is a principal token of grace (as it is by al ſcripture determined.) Then ſhall a wiſe tutour purpoſely commend thoſe vertues, extolling alſo his pupil, for hauing of them: and there with he ſhall declare them to bee of all men moſte fortunate, which ſhall happen to haue ſuche a maſter. And mozeouer ſhall declare to him, what honour, what loue, what commoditie ſhal happē to him by theſe vertues. And if any haue ben of diſpoſition contrary, then to expreſſe the enozmities of their vice, with as much deteſtation as may be: And if any daunger haue therby enſued, miſfortune oz puniſhment, to agreue it in ſuche wyſe, with ſo beheiment wordes, as the childe may abhorre it, and feare the lyke aduenture.

In vwhat vviſe muſike may bee to a noble man neceſſary: and vyhat modeſtie ought to bethercin. Cap.vii.

**T**he diſcretion of a tutour cōſiſteth in temperance: that is to ſay, that he ſuffer not the childe to bee fatigat with continuall ſtudy oz learning, wherewith the delycate and tender wytte, may bee dulled oz oppreſſed: but that

C.ij.

ther

## The Gouernour.

there may be therewith enterlaced and mixte some pleasaunte learning and exercise, as playing on instrumentes of musicke, whiche moderately vsed, and without diminucion of honour, that is to say: without wanton countenance, and dissolute gesture, is not to bee contemned. For the noble king and prophet Dauid king of Israel (whome Almightye God said, he had chosen as a man according to his heart or desire) during his life, delited in musike: And with the swete harmony, that he made on his harpe, he constrained the euil spirite, that vexed king Saule to forsake him, continuing the time that he harped.

The most noble and valiaunt princes of Grece, oftentimes, to recreate their spirites and in augmenting their courage, embraced instrumentes musicall.

Achilles.  
Homerus.  
Iliad. pri.

Thus dyd the valiaunt Achilles (Homer saith) who after the sharpe and vehemente contention, betwene him and Agamemnon, for the taking away of his concubyne: whereby he being set in a fury, had slain Agamemnon, Emperour of the Grekes army, had not Pallas the goddesse withdrawn his hand. In whiche rage he all inflamed, departed with his people to his owne ships, that laye at rode, intending to haue returned into his countrey: but after he had taken to him his harpe (wheron he had lerned to play of Chiron the Centaure, whiche also taught him seates of armes, with phisike and surgerye) and

Chiron.



and playing there-on, had songen the gesses and actes martiall of the auncient Princes of Greece, as Hercules, Perseus, Pyrothous, Theseus, and his cosen Iason, and of diuers other of semblable value and pꝛowesse: hee was ther-with asswaged of his fury, and reduced into his first estate of reason: in such wise, & in redoubling his rage, & that thereby should not remain to him any nate of reproch, he reteyning the fierce & sturdy countenance, so tempꝛed him selfe, in the interteynment and aunswering the messengers that came to him, from the residue of the Grekes, that they reputing al that his fierce demeanoꝛ to be (as it wer) a diuine maiestie, neuer embꝛayded him with anye inoꝛdinate wꝛath oꝛ fury.

And therefore the great King Alexander when he had banquished Ilion, where sometime was set the most noble Citie of Troy, being demaunded of one if he would see the Harpe of Paris Alexander who rauished Helene, he there at gently smilyng aunswered: It was not the thing that he much desired, but had rather se the harp of Achilles, whereto he sange, not the illecebꝛous delectations of Venus, but the valiant actes, and noble affaires of excellent pꝛinces.

But in this commendation of Musick, I wold not be thought to allure noble men, to haue so much delectatiō ther-in, that in playing and singing onely they shoulde put their

## The Gouvernour.

Musicke  
reproue-  
able.  
Theatre.

whole studie & felicitie . As did the Empe-  
roz Nero, which at a long summers day would  
sit in the Theatre (an open place, where all  
the people of Rome behelde solempne actes,  
and playes) and in the presence of all the no-  
ble men and Senatours, would playe on his  
harpe and sing without ceasing. And if anye  
man hapned by longe sitting to sleepe, or by  
any other countenaunce to shew him-self to  
be wery, he was sodeinly bobbed on the face  
by the seruants of Nero , for that purpose  
attending. Or if any person were perceiued  
to be absent, or wer seene to laugh at the fol-  
ly of the Emperour, he was forth-with ac-  
cused as it were of misprision, where-by the  
Emperour found occasion to commit him to  
prison or to put him to tortures . What  
misery was it, to be subiecte to such a Min-  
strel in whose musicke was no melodye, but  
anguysh and dolour.

Musicke  
miserable.

It were therefore better, that no musicke  
were taught to a noble man, than by the ex-  
acte knowledge there-off, hee shoulde haue  
ther-in inordinate delyte: and by that bee il-  
lected to wantonnesse abandoning grauitie, &  
the necessary cure and office in the publyque  
weale to him committed.

King Philip  
lips vwords  
to Alexander.  
Ar.

King Philip, when he hearde that his son  
Alexander did sing sweetly and properly re-  
buked him gently, saying: But Alexander,  
be ye not ashamed, that ye can sing so well &  
cunningly : where-by he ment, that the open

profession of that craft was but of a base estimation And that it sufficeth a noble man, hauing there in knowledge, either to vse it secretlye for the refreshinge of his witte, when he hath time of solace: or els only hearing the contention of noble Musicians to giue iudgement in the excellencie of their cunnings. These be the causes, where-vnto hauing regard, musicke is not only tollerable, but also comendable. For as Aristotle saith: Musicke in the olde time was numbred among sciences, forasmuch as nature seeketh not onely how to be in businesse well occupied, but also how in quietnesse to be commendably disposed.

And if the childe be of perfect inclynation and towardnesse to vertue, and very aptlye disposed to this science, and ripelye doth vnderstand the reason & concordance of tunes, the tutozs office shal be to perswade him, to haue principally in remembrance his estate, which maketh him exempt from the libertie of vsing this science in euery time and place that is to say, that it only serueth for recreation, after tedious or laborious affayres. And to shew him that a Gentleman playing or singing in a common audience, apparyeth his estimation: The people forgetting reuerence, when they behold him in similitudz of a common seruaunt or Minstrell, yet notwithstandinge hee shall commende the perfecte vnderstandinge of Musicke,

Musicke  
profitable,



## The Gouvernour.

Declaring how necessarie it is for the better attayning to the knowledge of a publyque weale, which as I befoze sayde, is made of an order of estates and degrees, & by reason thereof containeth in it a perfect harmonie: which he shal afterward moze perfectly vnderstande, when he shall happen to reade the bookes of Plato and Aristotle, of publyque weales, wherin be witten diuers examples of Musicke and Geometrie. In this forme may a wise and circumspect Tutor adapte the pleasaunt science of Musicke to a necessary and laudable purpose.

That it is commendable in a gentleman to paint and karue exactly, if nature thereto doth induce him. Cap. 8.



If the childe bee of nature inclined (as manye haue bene) to paint with a pen, or to form images in stone or tree, hee shoulde not be ther-from withdrawen, or Nature be rebuked, which is to him beneuolent: but putting one to him which is in that craft, wher-in he delighteth, most excellent, in vacant times from other moze serious learning, he shoulde bee in the most pure wise instructed in painting or keruing. And now perchance some enuious Reader will heere-off take occasion to scozne me

me, saying that I had well hyed me, to make of a noble man, a mason or paynter. And yet if either ambition or voluptuous idlenesse would haue suffered y<sup>e</sup> reader to haue seene histories, he shold haue found excellent princes, as wel in painting as in karuing, equall to noble artificers: Such wer Claudius Titus, the son of Vaspasian Hadriā, both Antonines, & diuers other Emperours and noble princes, whose workes of long time remayned in Rome and other cities, in such places where al men might behold them: as monuments of their excellent wits and vertuous occupation, in eschewing of idlenesse.

And not without a necessary cause, Princes wer in their childehood so instructed: for it serued them afterwarde for deuising of ingins for the warre: or for the making the better, that be alredy deuised. For as Vitruuius (which writeth of buylding to the Emperour Augustus) sayth: All torments of warre which we cal ingins, wer first inuented by kings or gouernours of hoasts: or if they were deuised by other, they were by the made much better.

Also by the feate of portraiture or paynting, a Captaine may discriue the country of his aduersary, where-by he shall eschue the dangerous passages with his hoast or flauye: also perceiue the places of aduantage, the forme of embattayling of his enemyes, the situation of his campe, for his most sure-

## The Gouvernour.

tie, the strength oz weakenesse of the towne oz fortresse which he intendeth to assault. And that which is most specially to be considered in visiting his owne dominions, hee shall set them out in figure, in such wise, that at his eye shall appeare to him, wher he shall employ his study and treasure, as wel for the safe-gard of his country, as for the commoditie and honour ther-off, hauing at al times in his sight the suretie & feeblenes, aduancement and hinderance of the same. And what pleasure and also vtilytie is to a man, which intendeth to edifie him-self to expresse the figure of the worke, that he purposeth, according as he hath conceiued it in his own fantasie, where-in by often amending and correcting, he finally shall so perfect the worke vnto his purpose that ther shall neither ensue any repentaunce, nor in the emploimēt of his mony, he shall be by other deceived.

Whoeuer the feate of portraiture shall be an alectiue for euery other studie oz exercise. For the wit there-to disposed, shall alwaye couet congruent matter, where in it may be occupied. And when hee hapneth to reade oz heare any fable oz hystorie, forth-with he apprehendeth it moze desirously, and reteineth it better than any other, that lacketh the said feate: by reason that hee hath found matter apt to his fantasie. Finally euery thing that portraiture may comprehend, will be to him delectable to read oz heare. And wher & liue-  
ly



ly spirite, and that which is called the grace of the thing, is perfectly expressed, that thing moze perswadeth & stirreth the beholder, & sooner instructeth him, than the declaratiō in wꝛiting oz speking, doth y reader oz hearer. Experiēce we haue ther-off in learning of Geometrie, Astronomy, & Cosmography, called in English the discription of y world. In which studies, I dare affirme, a man shall moze profit in one weeke by figures & charts wel & perfectly made, then he shal by the only reding oz hearing the rules of that science, by the space of halfe a yere at y least. wherefoze the late wꝛiters deserue no small commendation, which added to the authoꝝs of those sciences apte and proper figures.

And he that is perfectly instructed in portraiture, and hapneth to read any noble & excellent history where-by his courage is enflamed to the imitation of vertue, he forth-w taketh his pen oz pensil, & with a graue and substanciall studie, gathering to him all the parts of imagination, endeuoꝛeth him-selſe to expresse lyuely, and (as I mought saye) actuallye in portraiture, not onelye the facts oz affayze, but also the sundꝛye affections of euery personage, in y history recited, which mought in any wise appeare oz be percciued in their visage, countenance, oz gesture: with lyke diligence, as Lysippus made in mettall king Alexander, fighting & struggling with a terrible Lyon of incomparable magnitude.

and

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and fiercenesse : whom after long and difficult battayle, with wonderfull strength, and cleane might, at the last he ouer-threwe and banquished. where-in he so expressed the similitude of Alexander, & of his Lords standing about him that they all seemed to liue. Among whom & prowesse of Alexander appeared excellling all other, the residue of his Lords after the value & estimation of theyr courage, euery man set out in such forwardnes, as they than seemed more prompt to the helping of their master, that is to saye, one lesse a feard than ano other.

Phidias.

Phidias the Athenian whome all wyrters doe commende, made of Iuozpe the simula- chre oz Image of Iupiter, honoured by the Gentiles, on the highe Hill of Olympus : which was done so excellently, that Pandenus, a cunning Daynter there at admeruay- lyng, required the craftes-man, to shew him where he had the example oz paterne of so noble a worke. Than Phidias aunswered, that he had taken it out of threearsees of Homere the Poet: the sentence whereoff en- sueth as well as my pooze wit can expresse it in English.

Than Iupiter the father of them all.

Thereto assented with his browes blacke:

Shaking his haire, & therewith did let fal,

A countenance & made al heauē to quake.

Where it is to bee noted, that Theris the mother of Achilles, desired Iupiter to in-  
cline

cline his fauour to the part of the Troyans.

Nowe (as I haue befoze saide) I intend not by these examples, to make of a Prince or noble mannes sonne a commune paynter or keruer, which shall present himselfe openly, stayned or embzued with sundrye colours or powdered with the duste of stones, that he cutteth, or perfumed with tedious sauours of the mettalles by him gotten. But verely myne intente and meaninge is onelye, that a noble childe, by his owne naturall disposition, and not by coercion, maye bee induced to receiue perfecte instruction in these sciences.

What exact diligence should be in  
choosing maisters. Cap. ix.

**A**fter that the childe hath bene pleasantlye trayned and induced to knowe the parte of speeche, and can separate one of them from an other, in his owne language. It shall then bee time, that his tutour or gouernour dooe make dyligente serche for such a Maister: as is excellentlye learned, bothe of Greeke and Latyne, and there with all is of sober and vertuous disposition, speciallye chaste of lyuinge, and of muche affabyltie and patience: least by any vncleane example the tender mynde of the childe maye bee infected, harde afterwarde to bee recovered. For the  
natures



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natures of childzen bee not so much oꝛ sone aduanced by thinges well done oꝛ spoken, as they be hyndered and corrupted by that, whiche in actes oꝛ wordes is wantonly expressed. Also by a cruell and pꝛous Maister, the wittes of childzen be dulled: & that thing, foꝛ the which childzen be oftentimes beaten, is to them euer after fastidious, wherof wee nede no better authoꝛ foꝛ witnes, then dayly experience. Wherfoꝛe the most necessarie thinges to be obserued by a maister in his disciples oꝛ scholers (as Licon the noble grammarian saide) is shamefastnes, & pꝛaise. By shamefastnes, as it were with a byddell, they rule as well their deeds, as their appetites. And desire of pꝛaise addeth a sharpe spurre to their disposition, towarde learninge and vertue. According therunto Quintilian instructing an oratour, desireth suche a childe to be giuen vnto him, whom commendation feruently styꝛeth, gloꝛy pꝛouoketh, and being vanquished weepeth. That childe (saythe he) is to be fedde with ambition, hym a litle chydning soꝛe biteth, in him no part of slouth is to be feared.

And if nature disposeth not the chyldes wytte to receiue learning, but rather otherwise: it is to be applied with moze diligence and also polycy, as chosing some boke, wher of the argument oꝛ matter approacheth most nyghe to the chyldes inclynation oꝛ fantasie, so that it be not extremely vicious, and therewith

with by little and lyttle, as it were wyth a pleasaunte sauce, prouoke hym to haue good appetite to studie. And surelye that childe, what so euer hee bee, is well blessed and fortunate, that findeth a good instructoure or Maister, whiche was considered by noble King Philippe, father to the greate kynge Alexander, who immediatly after his sonne was bozne, wrote a letter to Aristotle, the prince of philosophers, the tenour whereof ensueth.

Aristotle, wee greete you well. Lettinge you wytte, that wee haue a sonne bozne, for the whiche wee giue due thanks vnto God, not for that he is bozne onely, but also for as muche as it happeneth hym to bee bozne, you lyuing. Trustinge that it shall happen, that he by you taught and instructed, shall be hereafter worthy to bee named our sonne, and to enioye the honoure and substance that wee nowe haue prouided. Thus fare ye wel.

The epistle  
of king Phi-  
lip to Ari-  
stotle.

The same Alexander was wont to saye openly, that he ought to giue as great thanks to Aristotle his Maister as to king Philip his father: for of him hee toke the occasion to liue, of the other hee receiued the reason and waye to lyue well. And what maner a prince Alexander was made by the doctrine of Aristotle, it shall appere in dyuers places of this booke: where his example to princes shall be declared.

The

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The incomparable benefite of Maisters, haue ben wel remembred of diuers princes. In so much as Marcus Antonius, whiche among the emperours was commended for his vertue & sapience, had his maister Proculus (who taught him grammer) so much in fauour, that he aduanced him to be proconsul, which was one of the hyghest dignities among the Romaines.

Alexander the Emperour caused his maister Iulius Fronto, to bee Consull, whiche was the highest office, and in estate next the Emperour: and also obtained of the Senate that the stature or Image of Fronton, was set vp among the noble princes.

What caused Traian to bee so good a prince (in so much that of late dayes, when an Emperour receiued his crown at Rome, the people with a commune crye desyred of GOD, that he might be as good as was Traiane) but that hee hapned to haue Plutarche, the noble Philosopher, to bee hys instructour?

I agree mee, that some bee good, of naturall inclination to goodnes: but where good instruction and example is thereto added, the naturall goodnes must therewith nedes be amended, and be moze excellent.

What



¶ What order should be in learning,  
and which authours shoulde be  
first redde. Cap. x.

**N**Owe let vs returne to the order of  
learning, apt for a Gentleman. where-  
in I am of Quintilians opinion, that  
I woulde haue him learne Greeke  
and Latine authours, bothe at one time, or  
els to beginne with Greeke, for as muche  
as that is hardest to come by: by reason of  
the dyuerfitie of tongues, whiche be five in  
number, and all muste bee knowen, or els  
bneeth any Poete can bee well vnderstande. The first learning in  
And if a childe doe beginne therein at seven childhood.  
yeares of age hee maye continuallye learne  
Greeke authours thre yeares, and in the  
meane time vse the Latin tongue as a fami-  
liar language: whiche in a noble mans sonne  
may well come to passe, hauinge none other  
persons to serue him or keepe him company,  
but such as can speake Latin elegantly. And  
what doubt is there? but so may he as sone  
speak good latin, as he may do pure french,  
which nowe is brought into as many rules  
and figures, and as long a grammer, as is  
Latin or Greeke. I will not contende, who  
among them that doe wyte grammers of  
Greeke (whiche nowe almoste be innumera-  
ble) is the best: but that I refer to the dis-  
cretion of a wise maister. Alway I woulde  
D. aduise

## The Gouvernour.

aduiſe him, not to deteine the childe to longe in that tedious labours, either in the Greke or Latin grammer. For a gentle wit is therewith ſoone fatigate.

Grammer, beinge but an introduction to the vnderſtanding of authours, if it be made to long or exquisite to y learner, in a manner mortifieth his courage: And by that time he comineth to the moſt ſweet & pleaſant reding of olde authours, the ſparkes of feruent deſire of learning is extinct, with the burdeine of grāmer: like as a litle fire is ſone quēched with a great heape of ſmall ſtickes, ſo that it can neuer come to the principal loggs, wher it ſhould long burne in a great pleaſant fire.

Nowe to followe my purpoſe. After a ſewe and quicke rules of grammer immediately, or interlacing it therewith would be read to y child Aefopes fables in Greke: in which argument childzen much delight. And ſurely it is a muche pleaſaunte leſſon, and alſo profitable, as well for that it is elegante and brieſe (and notwithstanding it hath muche varietie in words, and there-with much helpeth to the vnderſtanding of Greke) as alſo in thoſe fables is included much morall and politike wiſedome. wherfoze in the teaching of them, the maiſter dilygently muſt gather together thoſe fables, whiche may bee moſte accomodate to the aduancement of ſome vertue, wherto he perceiueth the child inclined: or to the rebuke of ſome vice, wher-to he

Aefops fables.

he findeth his nature disposed. And therein the maister ought to exercise his wit, as well to make the childe plainely to vnderstande the table, as also declaring the signification thereof compendiously, and to the purpose.

Foreseene alway, that as well this lesson as all other authours whiche the childe shal learne either Greke or Latin, verse or prose, be perfectly had without the booke: whereby he shal not only attaine plentie of ʒ tongues, called Copie, but also encrease and nourish remembrance wondrously.

The next lesson would be some quick and mery dialogues, elect out of Lucian whiche be without ribaudry, or to much scozninge: for either of them is exactly to bee eschued, specially for a noble man: the one annoyng the soule, the other his estimation, concerning his grautie.

The second  
lesson to  
children.  
Lucianus.

The comedies of Aristophanes may be in the place of Lucian, and by reason they be in meter, they be the soner learned by heart. I dare make none other comparison betweene them, for offending the friends of them both but thus much dare I say, that it were better, that a child should neuer reade any part of Lucian, than all Luciane.

Aristophanes.

I could reherse diuers other poetes, whiche for matter and eloquence, be very necessary, but I feare me to be to long frō noble Homer: from whome, as from a founteine, proceedeth al eloquence & lerning. For in his

Homerus.



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bokes be contained, and moſte perfectly expreſſed, not onely the documentes marciall and diſcipline of armes, but alſo incomparable wiſedomes & inſtructions for politike gouernance of people, with the worthy commendation and laude of noble princes, where with the readers ſhall be ſo al inflamed, that they moſt feruently ſhall deſire and couete, by the imitation of their vertues to acqwyze ſemblable glozy. For the which occaſion Ariſtotele, moſte ſharpeſt witted, and excellent learned philoſopher, as ſoone as he had receiued Alexander from king Philip his father, befoze any other thing, taught him the moſt noble workeſ of Homer. Wherein Alexander founde ſuche ſweeteneſſe and fruite, that euer after he had Homer, not only with him in all his iourneyes, but alſo layd him vnder his pillow, when he went to reſt: and oftentimes woulde purpoſely wake ſome houres of the night, to take as it were his paſtyme with that moſt noble poete. For by the reading of his worke called Iliados, where the aſſembly of the moſt noble Greekes againſt Troye is recited, with their affaires, he gathered courage and ſtrength againſt his enemies, wyſedome and eloquence for conſultations and perſwaſions to his people & army. And by y other worke called Odiſſea whiche recounteth the ſundry aduentures of the wiſe Vliffeſ, hce by the example of Vliffeſ, apprehended manye noble vertues, and alſo

also learned to escape the fraude and deceitful imaginations of sundry and subtile craftie wits. Also there shal he learne to inserech and perceine the manners and conditions of them that be his familiars, sifting out (as I might say) the best from the worst, wher-by he may surely commit his affaires and trust to euery person after his vertues. Therfore I now conclude, that there is no lesson for a young gentleman to be compared with Homere if he be plainely and substantially expounded and declared by the master.

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the sayd workes be very long, and doe require therefore a great time to be al lerned and conned; some Latine Authour, woulde be therewith mixt, and specially Virgile: which in his worke called Aeneidos, is most lyke to Homere and almost the same Homer in Latine. Also by the ioyning together of those Authours, the one shall be the better vnderstand by the other. And verely (as I before sayd) no one Authour serueth to so diuers wits, as doth Virgile. For there is not that affect or desire, where-to anye childe's fantasie is disposed, but in some of Virgiles workes maye be founden matter there-to apte and proper. For what thing can bee more familiar than his Bucollickes? nor no worke so nigh approacheth to the common dalyaunce and maners of children, and the pretie controuersies of the simple Shepheardes there-in contained,

Virgilius.

## The Gouvernour,

wonderfully reioiceth the childe that heareth it well declared, as I knowe by mine owne experience. In his Georgikes, Lorde what pleasaunt varietie ther is, & diuers graines, hearbs and flowers, that be there discribed, that reading there in, it seemeth to a man to be in a delectable gardine or Paradise.

what Plough-man knoweth so much of husbandry, as there is expressed: who delighting in good horses, shall not bee thereto more inflamed, reading there of the breeding, choosing and keeping of them? In the declaration where-off, Virgilleaueth farre behinde him, all breeders, hackney-men & scoz-sers. Is there any Astronomer, that more exactly setteth out the order & course of the celestiall bodies: or that more truly doth diuine in his prognostications of the times of the yere, in their qualities, with the future estate of all things provided by Husbandrye, than Virgile doothe recyte in that worke:

If the childe haue a deliyght in Hunting, what pleasure shal he take of the fable of Aristeus: semblablie in the hunting of Dido & Aeneas, which is discriued most elegantly in his booke of Aeneidos.

If he haue pleasure in wassling, running, or other lyke exercise, where shall he see anye more pleasant esbacements, then that which was done by Euealus and other Troyans which accompanied Aeneas.



If he take solace in hearing Minstrells, what Minstrel may be compared to Iopas, which sange befoze Dido and Aeneas? or to blynde Demodocus, that playde and sange most sweetly at the dinner, that the king Alcinous made to Vlisses? whose ditties & melodie excelleth as farre the songs of our minstrells, as Homere and Virgil excell all other Poets.

If he be more desirous (as the most part of childzen be) to heare things meruaylous and exquisite, which hath in it a bysage of some things incredible: where-at shall hee more wonder, than when hee shall beholde Aeneas follow Sibile into Hell? what shalbe more dzead, then the terrible visages of Cerberus, Gorgon, Megæra, and other Furies and Monsters? how shal hee abhorre tyranny, fraud, and auarice when hee doth see the paines of Duke Theseus, Sisyphus, and such other, tormented for their dissolute and vicious lyuing? How gladde soone after shall he be, when he shall beholde in the pleasaunt fieldes of Elisius, the soules of noble Princes and Captaines, which for their vertue & labours, in aduancing the publyke weales of their Countreys, doe lyue eternallye in pleasure inexplorable? And in the last booke of Aeneidos shal he finde matter to minister to him audacitie, valiant corage, & policie, to take & susteine noble enterprises, if any shall be needful for the assaying of his enemies.

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Finally (as I haue sayd) this noble Virgile lyke to a good Nourse giueth to a childe, if he will take it, euery thing apt for his witte and capacitie. Wherfore hee is in the order of learning to bee preferred before anye other Latine Authour.

I would set next vnto him two bookes of Ouid, the one called Metamorphosios which is as much to say, as chaunging of men into other figure or forme: the other is intituled De fastis, wher the Ceremonies of the Gentiles, and specially the Romaines be exprefsed, both, right necessary for the vnderstanding of other Poets. But bicause there is lytte other learning in them, concerning eyther vertuous manners or polycie. I suppose it were better that as fables and ceremonies happen to come in a lesson, to be declared abundantly by the master, than that in the sayd two bookes a long time should be spent, and almost lost, which might bee better employed on such Authours, that do minister both eloquence, ciuill polycie, & exhortation to vertue.

Wherfore in his place, let vs bring in Horace, in whom is contained much varietie of learning and quicknesse of sentence. This Poet may be interlaced with the lesson of Odissea of Homere, where in is declared the wonderfull prudence & fortitude of Vlysses, in his passage from Troy. And if the childe were induced to make heares by the imitation

tion of Virgile & Homere, it should minister to him much delectation & courage to study: noz the making of verses is not discommended in a noble man, since the noble Augustus and almost all the olde Emperoures made bookes in verses.

The two noble Poets, Siluius and Lucan, Siluius.  
Lucanus. be very expedient to be learned: for the one setteth out the emulation in qualitie & prowess of two noble and valiaunt Captaines, one enimie to the other, that is to say, Siluius writeth of Scipio the Romaine, and Hannibal Duke of Carthage: Lucane declareth a semblable matter, but much more lamentable: forasmuch as the warres wer ciuile, and as it were in the bowells of the Romaines, that is to say, vnder the standerds of Iulius Caesar and Pompey.

Hesiodus in Greeke, is more brieft than Virgile, where he writeth of husbandrye, and doth not rise so high in Philosophie, but is fuller of fables. And therfore is more illecebrous.

And heere I conclude to speake any more of Poets necessary for y child-hood of a gentleman: forasmuch as these (I doubt not) will suffice, vntill hee passe the age of .xiiij. yeres: in which time child-hood declineth, & reason waxeth ripe, and appprehendeth things with a more constant iudgement.

Heere I would haue remembred, that I require not al these workes to be thoroughly

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redde



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redde of a childe in this time which were almost impossible : But I onely desire, that they haue in euery of y<sup>e</sup> sayd bookes so much instruction , that they maye take there-by some p<sup>ro</sup>sitate. Than the childes courage inflamed by the frequent reading of noble poets, daylye moze and moze desireth to haue experience in those things, that they so vehemently doe commende in them , that they w<sup>ri</sup>te off.

Poets defended and  
prayed.

Leonidas, the noble king of Spartans, being once demaunded , of what estimation in Poetrie Tirtaeus ( as he supposed ) was ? it is w<sup>ri</sup>tten, that he aunswering sayd : That for stirring the mindes of you<sup>ng</sup> men, he was excellent, forasmuch as they beeing mooued with his verses, doe runne into the battaile, regarding no perill, as men all inflamed in martiall courage.

And when a man is come to rype yeares, and that reason in him is confirmed with serious learning , and longe experience : than shal he in reading Tragedies , execrate and abhorre the intollerable lyfe of tyrants : and shall contemne the folly and dotage expressed by Poets lasciuious.

Here will I leaue to speake of the firste parte of a noble mannes studie : And will w<sup>ri</sup>te of the second part, which is moze serious, and conteineth in it sundry manners of learning.

The

The most commodious and necessary studies succeeding ordinately the lesson of Poets. Cap. 11.

**A**fter fourteene yeares be passed of a childes age : his master, if he can, or some other, studiously exercised in the Arte of an Oratour, shall firste reade to him some-what of that parte of Logicke, that is called Topica, either of Cicero or els of that noble clarke of Almaine, which late flourished, called Agricola : whose worke prepareth inuention, telling the places, from whence an argument for the prooofe of any matter may bee taken with lytte studie. And that lesson with much and dilygent learning hauing mixt there-with none other exercise, will in the space of halfe a yere be perfectly conned.

Logicke.  
Topica.

Immediately after that, the Art of Rhetorike would be semblably taught, either in Greeke out of Hermogines, or of Quintilian in Latine, beginning at the thirde booke, and instructing dilygently the childe in that part of Rhetorike principally, which concerneth perswasion: forasmuch as it is most apte for consultation. There can be no shorter instruction of Rhetorike than the treatise that Tully wrote vnto his sonne, which Booke is named the partition of Rhetorike.

Rethoricke

And

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Erasmus.

And in good faith, to speake boldely that I thinke for him that needeth not, or doeth not desire to be an exquisite Oratour, that little booke, made by the famous Erasmus, (whom al gentle wits are bounde to thanke and support) which he calleth Copiam verborum & rerum, that is to saye: Plentie of wordes and matters shall be sufficient.

Isocrates, concerning the lesson of Orators, is euery wher wonderfull profitable, hauing almost as many wise sentences, as hee hath words, & with that is so sweete & delectable to read, that after him almost all other seme vnflauerie & tedious: and in perswading as well a prince, as a priuate person to vertue: the two very lyttle & compendious workes, wher-off he made y<sup>e</sup> one to king Nicocles, the other to his friend Demonicus, woulde bee perfectely conned, and had in continuall memory.

Demosthenes and Tully, by the consent of all learned men, haue preheminence and soveraigntie ouer all orators: the one reigning in wonderfull eloquence in the publyke weale of the Romaines, who had the Emperre and Dominion of all the worlde: the other of no lesse estimation in the citie of Athens, which of long time was accompted the Mother of Sapience, and the Pallace of Muses, & all liberall Sciences. Of which two Orators may be attained, not onely Eloquence excellent and perfect, but also preceptes of wisdom



home and gentle maners, with moste commodious examples of all noble vertues and polycie. Wherefore the maister in readinge them, must wel obserue and expresse the partes and colours of Rethorike in them contained, according to the preceptes of that art befoze learned. The vtilitie that a noble man shal haue by reading these oratours is, that when hee shall happe to reason in counsaile, or shall speake in a greate audience, or to straunge Ambassadours of great princes: he shall not be constreigned to speake woordes sodein and disordered, but shal bestowe them aptly and in their places. Wherefore the most noble Emperour Octavius, is highly com-

Octavius

mended, for that he neuer spake in the senate or to the people of Rome, but in an oration prepared and purposely made. Also to prepare the childe to vnderstanding of hystories, whiche being replenished with the names of countreyes and townes vnknownen to the reader, do make the hystorie tedious, or els the lesse pleasant: so if they bee in any wyse knownen, it encreaseth an inexplicable delectation: It shalbe therfore also for refreshing the witte, a conuenient lesson, to behold the old tables of Ptholomee wherin al the world is painted, hauing first some introduction into the Sphere, whereof nowe of late be made very good treatises, and moze plaine and easy to learne then was wont to bee. All be it there is none to good

Cosmography & the comodities thereof.

lear-

## The Gouvernour.

learning, as the demonstratiō of Cosinograp<sup>hy</sup>, by materiall figures and instrumentes, hauing a good iustrectour. And surely thys lesson is both pleasaunt and necessary. For what pleasure is it, in one houre to beholde those realmes, cities, seas, ryuers and fountaines, that vneth in an olde mans life can not be iourneyed: what incredible dilight is taken in beholdinge the dyuersities of people, beastes, foules, fyshes, trees, fruites, and herbes: To knowe the sundry manners and condition of people, and the varietie of their natures, and that in a warme studye or parloure, without peril of the sea, or daunger of long and painefull iourneyes: I can-not tell, what moze pleasure shoulde happen to a gentle wit, then to behold in his owne house euerye thing that with-in all the worlde is conteyned.

The commoditie thereof knewe the great king Alexander, as some wryters do remember. For he caused the countreys, wher-vnto he purposed any enterpryse, dyligently & cunningly to be descrybed and painted, that beholding the picture, he might perceiue, which places were most dangerous, and where he and his hoste might haue most easy and conuenable passage.

Semblably did the Romaines in the rebellion of Fraunce, and the insurrection of their confederates, setting vp a table openly, wherein Italy was painted, to the intent that

that the people looking in it, shoulde reason and consulte, in which places it were best to resist or inuade their enemies.

I omit for length of the matter to wryte of Cyrus the great king of Perse, Crassus the Romaine, and diuers other valiaunt and expert capitaines, which haue lost themselves and all their army by ignorance of this doctrine. Wherefore it may not be of any wise man denyed, but that Cosmography is to all noble men, not onely pleasant, but profitable also, and wonderfull necessary.

In the parte of Cosmographye, wherewith hystorie is mingled, Strabo reigneth, which toke his argument of the diuine poete Homer.

Also Strabo himselfe (as he saith) laboured a great part of Affrica and Aegypt, wher vndoubtedly be many thinges to be meruailed at.

Strabo.

Solinus wryteth almost in like forme and is more bryefe, and hath much more varietie of thinges and matters, and is therefore meruaylous delectable. Yet Mela is much shorter, and his style (by reason that it is of a more antiquitie) is also more cleane & facile. Wherefore hee, or Dionisius shall bee sufficient.

Solinus.

Mela.

Dionisius.

Cosmography beinge substantiallye perceiued, it is then time to induce a childe to the reading of hystories. But first to set him in a seruent courage, the maister in the most place



## The Gouvernour.

Histories  
& the form  
in reading  
of them,

pleasant and elegant wise, expressing what incomparable delectation, vtilitie, and commoditie shall happen to Emperours, kings, princes and all other gentlemen, by reading of histories: Shewing to him, that Demetrius Phalareus, a man of excellent wysedome and learning, and whiche in Athens, had ben long exercised in the publike weale, exhorted Ptholomee king of Aegypt, chiefe-lye aboue all other studies to haunt and embrace histories, and such other booke, wherein were contained preceptes made to kinges and princes, saying: That in them he should reade those thinges, whiche no man durste reporte vnto his person.

Also Cicero, father of the Latin eloquence calleth an history the witnes of times, mai- stresse of life, the life of remembraunce, of truth the light, and messenger of antiquitie.

Mozcouer the sweete Isocrates exhorte- teth the king Nicocles, whome he instructed to leaue behinde him statues and ymages, that shall represent rather the figure and similitude of his minde, then the features of his body signifying thereby the remembraunce of his actes wrytten in histories.

By semblable aduertisements, shall a noble heart be trayned to delite in histories. And then according to the counsel of Quintilian, it is best that he beginne with Titus Liuius, not onelye for his elegancye of wryttinge, whiche floweth in him lyke a fountaine

Titus Li-  
uius.

Also in that citie he may behold the forme  
of a publike weale, which if the insolency and  
pyrde of Tarquine had not excluded kinges  
out of the cytie, had ben the most noble and  
perfect of all other.

Xenophon, being both a philosopher, and Xenophon  
an excellent capitaine, so inuented and ordered  
his worke named Pedia Cyri, which may bee  
interpreted the childhode or discipline of Cy-  
rus, & he leaueth to the readers therof, an in-  
comparable sweetnes and example of liuing,  
specially for the conducting and well orde-  
ring of hostes and armies. And therfore the  
noble Scipion, who was called Africanus, as  
well in peace as in warre, was neuer scene  
without this book of Xenophon.

With him may bee ioynd Quintus Cur-  
tius, who writeth the life of king Alexan-  
der, elegantly and sweetely. In whome may  
be founden the figure of an excellent Prince,  
as he that incōparably excelled ail other kin-  
ges and Emperours in wisdome, hardinesse,  
strength, polycie, agilitie, valiaunt courage,  
nobilitie, liberalitie, and curtesie. Wherein  
he was a spectacle oz marke for al Princes  
to looke on: Contrarywise, when hee was  
C. once

## The Gouvernour.

once vanquished with voluptuounes & pride, his tyzannye and beastly crueltie abhorreth all readers. The comparifon of the vertues of these two noble princes, equally described by two excellent wyters, well exprested, shall prouoke a gentle courage, to contende to folowe their vertues.

Cæsar.  
Salust.

Iulius Cæsar and Salust, for their compendious wytynge, to the vnderstandinge wherof is required an exact & perfect iudgement, & also for the exquisite order of battaile, and continuing of the hystoꝛye, without any varietie, whereby the paine of study should be alleuiate, they two would be reserved vntill he that shall reade them, shall see some experience in semblable matters. And then shall he finde in them such pleasure and commoditie, as there with a noble & gentle heart ought to be satisfied. For in them both it shall seeme to a man, that he is present, & heareth the counsailes and exhortations of capitaines, whiche bee called Contiones, and that he seeth the order of hostes, when they bee embattayled, in fierse assaultes and encountrynges of bothe armyes, the furiouse rage of that monster called warre. And he shall wene that he heareth the terrible dents of sundry weapons, and ordinaunce of battaile, the conducte and policies of wyse and experte captaynes, specially in the commentaries of Iulius Cæsar, whiche hee made of his exploiture in Fraunce and Britaine, & other



other countreyes now reckened amonge the prouinces of Germany. Which booke is studiously to be reade of the princes of thys realme of Englande, and their counsellours, considering that thereof maye bee taken necessary instructions concerning the warres against Irish men or Scottes: who bee of the same rudenes and wylde disposition, that the Suxles and Britains were in the tyme of Cæsar.

Seemable vtilitie shalbe founden in the history of Titus Liuius, in his thirde Decades, where hee wyrteth of the battayles, that the Romaines had with Anniball, and the Carthaginences.

Also there be diuers orations, as well in all the books of the saide authours, as in the history of Cornelius Tacitus, which be very delectable, & for counsailes very expedient to be had in meimory.

Cornelius  
Tacitus.

And in good faith I haue often thought that y consultations & orations wrytten by Tacitus, do import a maiesty, with a compendious eloquence therein contained.

In the learning of these authours, a young gentleman, shall be taught to note & marke, not onely the order and elegancy, in declaration of the historie, but also the occasion of the warres, the counsailes and preparations on either parte, the estimation of the cappytynes, the manner and fourme of theyr gouernance, the continuance of the battaile, the

## The Gouvernour.

fortune and successe of y whole affaires. Se-  
blably out of the warres in other daylye af-  
fayres, the estate of the publike weale, if it  
be prosperous or in decaye, what is the very  
occasion of the one or of the other, the forme  
and manner of the governāce thereof, y good  
and euil qualities of them that bee rulers,  
the cōmodities and good sequele of vertue,  
the discommodities and euill conclusion of  
vicious lycence.

Surely if a noble man do thus seriously  
and diligently read histories, I dare affirme,  
there is no studie or science for him of equal  
commoditie and pleasure, hauing regarde to  
euery time and age.

Moral phi-  
losophie.

By the time that the childe doth come to  
xviij. yeares of age, to the intent his courage  
bee bzidled with reason, it were needefull to  
reade vnto him some workes of philosophy,  
specially that parte that may enforme hym  
vnto vertuous manners, which part of phi-  
losophy is called Morall. Wherefore there  
woulde be reade to him for an introduction,  
two of y first bookes of the worke of Aristot-  
le called Ethice, wherein is contained the de-  
finitions and proper significations of euery  
vertue, and that to be learned in Greeke: for  
the translation that we yet haue, bee but a  
rude and grosse shadow of the eloquence and  
wisdom of Aristotle.

Tullis offi-  
ces.

Fourth with would folowe the worke of  
Cicero, called in Latin De officijs, wherevnto

to

to yet is no proper English wordes to be giuen, but to prouide for it some manner of exposition, it may be said in this forme. Of the dueties and manners apperteing to men.

But aboute all other, the workes of Plato Plato. would be most studiously redde, whan the iudgement of a man is come to perfection, & by the other studies is instructed in the form of speaking that Philosophers vsed. Forde god, what incomparable sweetnes of wordes and matter shall he finde in the sayd workes of Plato and Cicero, where-in is ioynd granitie with delectation, excellent wisdomes with diuine eloquence, absolute vertue with pleasure incredible, and euery place is so infarced with profitable counsaile, ioynd with honestie, that those thre bookes be almost sufficient to make a perfecte and excellent Gouvernour.

The Proverbes of Salomon, with the bookes of Ecclesiastes, and Ecclesiasticus, be very good lessons.

All the hystoricall parts of the Bible, be right necessarie for to be redde of a Noble man, after that he is mature in yeres. And the residue (with the new testament) is to be reuerently touched, as a celestiall Jewell or relyke, hauing the chiefe interpreter of those bookes, true and constant faith, & dreadfully to sette handes there-on, remembreinge that Oza for putting his hande to the holy shryne that was called Archa foederis, when it was



## The Gouvernour,

brought by King Dauid from the Citie of Gaba, though it were wauering, & in daunger to fall, yet was he stricken of God and fel dead immediately,

It would not be forgotten that the lyttle booke of the most excellent Docto<sup>r</sup> Erasmus Roter<sup>o</sup>. (which he wrote to Charles, nowe being Emperour, & then Prince of Castile) which booke is intituled, the Institucion of a ch<sup>r</sup>istian Prince, would be as familar alwaye with Gentlemen, at all times and in euery age, as was Homere with the great king Alexander, or Xenophon with Scipio.

Erasmus on  
the institu-  
tion of a  
prince.

For as all men may iudge that haue red the worke of Erasmus, there was neuer booke written in Latine, that in so lyttle a portion contained of sentence, eloquence, & vertuous exhortation, a moze cōpendious aboundance.

And here I make an ende of the learning and study, wherc by noble men may attayne to be worthy to haue authozitie in a publike weale.

Alway I shall exhort Tutor<sup>s</sup> and Gouvernours of noble childzen, that they suffer them not, to vse ingurgitations of meate or drinke, neither to sleepe much, that is to say: aboue viij. houres at the most. For vndoubtedly, both replection and superfluous sleepe be capitall enemies to studie, as they be semably to health of body and soule.

Aulus Gellius sayth, that childzen if they vse to cate and sleepe ouer-muche, bee made there-with

there-with dull to learne. And wee see that there-off slownes is taken, and the childzens personages doe waxe vncomely, and growe lesse in stature. Galen will not permit, that pure wine, without alaye of water, should in any wise be giuen to childzen, forasmuch as it humecteth the body, or maketh it moyster and hotter, than is conuenient: also it filleth the head with fume, in them specially which be lyke, as childzen of hotte and moyst temperature. These be well nigh the wordes of the noble Galen.

Why Gentlemen in this present time bee not equall in doctrine, to the ancient noble men. Cap. 12.



**N**ow wil I som-what declare of the chiefe causes, why in our time noblemen be not as excellent in learning as they were in olde time among the Romaines & Greekes. Surely as I haue diligently marked in dayly experience, the principall causes be these: the pride, auarice, and negligence of parents, and the lack or fewnes of sufficient masters or teachers.

As I said, Pride is the first cause of this inconuenience. For of those persons be some which without shame dare affirme, that to a great Gentleman, it is a notable reproche,

## The Gouvernour.

Henry  
Beu clark  
king of  
England.

to bee well learned, and to bee called a great Clarke, which name they account to bee of so base estimation, that they neuer haue it in their mouths, but whē they speak any thing in derision. Which perchance they would not do, if they had once leasure to read our own Chronicle of England, where they shal finde, that king Henry the first, sonne of William Conqueror, and one of the most noble Princes that euer reigned in this Realme, was openly called Henry Beau-clark, which is in English, faire Clarke, and is yet at this day so named. And whether that name bee to his honor, or to his reproch, let them iudge, that do read and compare his lyfe, with his two bzytheren, William called Rouse, and Robert le curtoyse, they both not hauing semblable learning with the sayd Henry: The one for his dissolute lynyng and tyzanny, being hated of all his nobles and people, finally was suddenly slayne by the shotte of an arrowe, as he was hunting in a Forrest: which to make larger, and to giue his Deere more lybertie, did cause the houses of .liij. Parishes to bee pulled down, the people to be expelled and all being desolate, to be turned into desarte, and made onely pasture for beasts sauage.

Which hee woulde neuer haue done, if hee had so much delighted in good learning, as did his brother. The other brother Robert le curtoyse, being Duke of Normandie, & the eldest sonne of William Conquerour, albeit that



that he was a man of much prowesse, & right expert in martiall affaires, wherfoze he was electe befoze Godfray of Boloigne, to haue bene king of Hierusalem: yet notwithstanding, when he invaded this realme with sundry puissant armies, also diuers Noble men ayding him, his noble brother Henry Beauclarke, moze by wisdom then power, also by lerning, adding polycie to vertue & courage, oftentimes vanquished him & did putte him to flight. And after sundry victoryes, finally tooke him and kept him in prison, haning none other meanes to keepe his Realme in tranquillitie.

It was for no rebuke, but for an excellent honour that the Emperour Antonius, was surnamed Philosopher, for by his most noble example of lyuing, and industrie incomparable, he during all the time of his reigne, kept the publyke weale of the Romaines, in such a perfect estate, that by his actes, he confirmed the saying of Plato: That blessed is that publike weale, where in either philosophers do reigne, or els kings be in Philosophy studious.

These persons that so much contempne learning, that they would that Gentlemens children should haue no parte or verie litle ther-of, but rather should spend their youth alwaye (I saye not onely in Hunting and Hauking, which moderately bled, as solaces ought to be, I intende not to dispraise)

E. b.

but

## The Gouvernour.

but in those idle pastimes, which for the use that is there-in, the commaundement of the prince, and the vniuersall consent of the people, expessed in statutes & lawes doe prohibite, I meane playing at dice, & other games named vnlawfull. These persons I saye, I would should remember, or els now learne, if they neuer els heard it, that the noble Philip King of Macedonia, who subdned all Greece, aboue all the good fortunes that euer hee hadde, most reioyced, that his sonne Alexander was bozne in the time that Aristotle the Philosopher flourished, by whose instruction hee might attaine to most excellent learning.

Also the same Alexander oftentimes said: That hee was equally as much bounden to Aristotle, as to his father king Philip, for of his father hee receiued life, but of Aristotle receiued the way to liue nobly.

who dispraised Epaminedes, the most valiant Captayn of the Thebanes, for that he was a noble Orator, & next to Demosthenes in the eloquence of the Greeke tongue excelled all other?

who euer discommended Iulius Cæsar, for that he was a noble Orator, & next to Tully in the eloquence of the Latine tongue, excelled all other?

who euer reprooued the Empeourtur Hadrian, for that hee was so equisitely learned not onely in Greeke and Latin, but also in all sciences

sciences liberall : that openlye at Athens, in the vniuersal assembly of the greatest clarks of the worlde : hee by a longe time disputed with Philosophers & Rhethoricians, which wer esteemed most excellent, & by the iudgement of them that were present, had & palme or rewarde of victoꝝy : And yet by the gouernaunce of that noble Emperour, not onely the publyke weale flourished, but also diuers rebellions were suppressed, and the maiestie of the Empire hugely increased.

Was it any reproch to the noble Germanicus (who by the assignement of Augustus should haue succeeded Tiberius in the Empire, if trayterous enuie had not in his flourishing youth bereft him of his lyfe) that he was equall to the most noble Poets of his time, and to the increase of his honour, and most worthy commendation, his image was sette by at Rome in the habit that Poets at those dayes vsed?

Finallye, howe much excellent learninge commendeth and not dysprayseth Nobilitie, it shall palapnely appeare vnto them that do read the lyues of Alexander called Seuerus Tacitus, Probus, Aurelius, Constantine, Theodosius, and Charles the great, surnamed Charlemaine, all being emperours, and doe compare them with other, which lacked or had not so much of doctrine.

Merily, they be farre from good reason in mine opinion, whiche conette to haue theyr  
chil=



## The Gouvernour.

childzen, goodly in stature, delyner, well singing: where in trees, beastes, fishes & birds, be not onely with them equall, but also farre do exceed them. And cunning, where-by onely man excelleth all other creatures in earth, they reiect and accompt vnworthye to bee in their childzen. What vnkinde appetite were it, to desire to bee Father rather of a peece of fleshe, that can onely mooue and feelee, then of a childe that should haue the perfect forme of a man? What so perfectly expresseth a man as doctrine?

Diogenes the philosopher, seing one without learing sit on a stone, said to them that were with him: Beholde where one stone sitteth on an other. Which words well considered and tryed, shall appeare to containe in them wonderfull matter for the approbation of doctrine.

### The second and third decay of learning among Gentlemen. Cap. 13.



The second occasion, wherefore Gentlemens childzen seldom haue sufficient learning, is auarice. For where their parents will not aduenture to sende them far out of theyr proper countreyes, partly for feare of Deathe, whiche perchaunce dare not appoche them at home with

with their father, partly for expence of money, whiche they suppose would be lesse in their owne houses, or in a village with some of their tenants or friends, hauing seldome any regard to the teacher, whether he be well learned or ignorant. For if they hyre a scholemaister to teache in their houses, they chiefly enquire with howe small a salarie he will be contented, and neuer do inferch how much good learning he hath, and howe among well learned men hee is therein esteemed: vsinge therein lesse diligence then in taking seruantes, whose seruice is of muche lesse importance, and to a good scholemaister, is not in profite to be compared.

A gentleman, er he take a cooke in his seruice will first examine him diligently, howe many sortes of meates, pottages, and sauces he can perfectly make, and howe well he can selson them: that they may be both pleasant and nourishinge: yea, and if it bee but a fauconer, hee will scrupulously enquire, what skill he hath in feeding, called diete, and keeping of his hauke from al sickness: Also how he can reclaime hir, & prepare hir to flighte. And to suche a cooke or faulconer whome he fyndeth expert, he spareth not to giue muche wages with other bounteous rewards. But of a scholemaister to whom he will commytt his childe to be fed with learninge and instructed in vertue, whose life shalbe the principal monument of his name and honour, he

neuer

## The Gouvernour.

never maketh further inquirie, but where he may haue a schoole-maister, and with howe lyttle charge. And if one perchance be fownden well learned, which will not take paynes to teach without great salarpe: hee than speaketh nothing moze, oz els saith: what shall so much wages be giuen to a schoole-maister, which would keepe me two seruantes? To whome may be saide these wordes, that by his sonne being well learned, he shall receiue moze commoditie, and also worshop, then by the seruice of an hundzed cookes and fauconers.

The third cause of this hinderance, is negligence of parentes, whiche I note specialye in this point. There haue ben diuers, as wel meane gentlemen as of y nobility, which delighting to haue their sonnes excellent in learning, haue prouided for them cunninge Maisters, who substantiall ye haue taughte them grammer, & very well instructed them to speake Latin elegantly: whereoff the parents haue taken much delectation, but whē they haue had of grammer sufficient, and be commē to the age of xiiij. yeares, and doe approche oz drawe towarde the estate of man, which age is called mature oz ripe (wherein not onely the saide learning continued by much experience, shall be perfectly digested and confirmed in perpetuall remembraunce, but also moze serious learninge conteyned in other liberal sciences, and also phylosophy would



would then be learned) & parents this thing nothing regarding, but being sufficed, that their children can only speake Latin properly, or make verses without matter or sentence, they from thence-foorth do suffer the to liue in idleness, or els putting them to seruice doe as it were banishe them from al vertuous study, and from exercise of that whiche they befoze learned. So that we may behold diuers yong gentlemen, which in their infancie and childhoode, were wondred at for their aptnes to learning, and prompt speaking of elegant Latin, nowe being men haue not onely forgotten the congruity (as & common word is) & vneth can speake one whole sentēce in true Latin: but that wars is, haue all learning in derision, and in scozne thereof will of wantonnesse speake the most barbarously that they can imagine.

Nowe some man will require me to shew mine opininon, if it be necessary, that gentlemen should, after the age of xiiii. yeares, continue in study. To be plaine and true therein I dare affirme, that if to the elegant speaking of Latine bee not added other doctrine, little fruite may come of the tongue; since latine is but a naturall speech, and the fruite of speech is wise sentence, which is gathered and made of sundry learnings. And he that hath nothing but language onely, may be no more praised the a popinay, a pye, or a stare when they speake feately. There be manye  
nowe

Eloquence  
commended.

## The Gouvernour.

nowe a dayes in famous scholes & vniuersities, which be so much giuen to the studie of tongues onely, that when they write epistles, they seeme to the reader, that like to a trumpet, they make a sound without any purpose, wherunto men harken more for the noyse, than for any delectation, that thereby is moued. Wherefore they be muche abused, that suppose eloquence to be onely in wordes or coulours of Rethorik. For as Tully sayth: What is so furious or madde a thing, as a bayne sound of wordes of the best sorte and most orzate, conteining neither cunning nor sentence?

What elo-  
quence is.

Undoubtedly very eloquence is in euery tongue, wher any matter or act done or to be done, is expressed in wordes, cleane, propise, orzate, and comely, whereof sentences bee so aptly compact, that they by a vertue in explicable, do drawe vnto them the mindes & consent of the hearers, being therewith either perswaded, moued, or to delectation induced.

Also euery man is not an oratour, that can write an epistle or a flattering oration in Latine, wherof the last (as God helpe me) is to muche vsed. For a right oratour may bee without a much better furniture. Tully saith that to him belongeth the explicating or vnfolding of sentence, with a great estimation in giuing counsell concerning matters of great importaunce: also to him apperteineth the stirring and quickening of people, lan-  
guage

guishing or dispairing, and to moderate the  
that be rashe and vnbrideled. wherfoze no-  
ble authours do affirme, that in the first in-  
fancy of the worlde, men wandring like bea-  
stes in woodes & on mountaines, regarding  
neither the religion due vnto god, nor the of-  
fice pertaining vnto man, ordered all thinge  
by bodily strengthe: vntyll Mercurius (as  
Plato supposeth) or some other man holpen  
by sapience, & eloquence, by some apt or pro-  
per oration assembled the together, and per-  
swaded to them, what commoditie was in  
mutuall conuersation and honest manners.

But yet Cornelius Tacitus, describeth  
an orator to bee of more excellent qualities,  
saying: An oratour is hee that can or maye  
speake or reason in euery question sufficient-  
ly, elegantly, and to perswade properly, ac-  
cording to the dignitie of the thing that is  
spoken off, the oportunitie of time and plea-  
sure of them that be hearers.

Cornelius  
Tacitus de  
orat.

Tully before him affirmed, that a man  
may not be an oratoure, heaped with praise,  
but if he haue gotten the knowledge of all  
thinges, and artes of greatest importaunce.  
And howe shall an oratoure speake of that  
thing that he hath not learned: And bicause  
there may bee nothinge, but it may happen  
to come in praise or dispraise, in consultati-  
on or iudgement, in accusation or defence:  
therfoze an orator, by others instruction per-  
fectly furnished, may in euery matter & lear-

f.

ning,



## The Gouvernour.

ning, cōmēd or dispraise or exhort or dissuad,  
accuse or defend eloquently, as occasion hap-  
neth wherfore in as much as in an oratour  
is required to be a heape of al maner of lear-  
ning, which of some is called the worlde of  
science, of other the cercle of doctrine, whiche  
is in one word of greke Encyclopedia, there-  
fore at this day, may be founden but a verpe  
fewe oratours. For they that come in mes-  
sage from princes, before honour nowe na-  
med oratoys, if they be in any degree of wpr-  
ship: onely pooze men, hauing equall or more  
of learning being called massengers.

Also they, whiche onely teache Rethorike  
(whil) is the science, whereby is taught an  
artificiall fourme of speaking, wherin is the  
power to perswade, moue, and delyte, or by  
that science only do speake or wyte without  
any administration of other sciences) ought  
to be named Rethoricians, declamatoys, ar-  
tificial speakers (named in Greke Logode-  
dali) or any other name then oratours.

Seemlablpe, they that make verses, ex-  
pressing thereby none other learninge, but  
the craft of versifying, be not of aunciet wri-  
ters named poets, but only called versifiers.  
For the name of a poete (wherat now, specis-  
ally in this realme, men haue suche indigna-  
tion, that they vse only poetes & poetry in  
contempt of eloquēce) was in auncient time  
in high estimation: in so much & al wisdoms  
was supposed to be therein included. And pos-  
etry

Poets.

etry was the first philosophy that euer was known, whereby men from their childhode were brought to the reason, how to liue wel, learning therby not onely maners & natural affections, but also the wondrous works of nature, mixing serious matter with things & were pleasant: as it shalbe manifest to thē & shalbe so fortunate to read & noble works of Plato & Aristotle, wherein ye shall finde the authority of poetes frequently alleaged: ye & that moze is, in poetes was supposed to bee science mystical, & inspired, & therfore in latin they were called Vates, which worde signifieth as much as prophets. And therfore Tully in his Tusculane questions supposeth that a poete can not abundantly expresse verses sufficient and complete, or that his eloquence may flow without labour, wordes well sounding and plentiously, without celestiall instinct, which is also by Plato ratified.

Ci. Tuscul.  
questi.

But sence we be now occupied in the defence of poetes, it shall not bee incongruente to our matter to shewe what profite maye be taken by the dyligente readinge of auncient poetes: contrarpe to the false opinion that now reigneth, of them that suppose that in the works of poetes is contained nothing but bandy (such is their foule worde of reproche) & vnprofitable leasings. But fyrste I wil interpret some verses of Horace, wher in he expresth the office of poetes, and after will I resorte to a moze plaine demonstra-

f. ij.

tion

## The Gouvernour,

tion of some wisedomes and counsailes, contained in some verses of Poetes. Horace in his seconde booke of Epistles, saith in thys wise, or much like.

Horat epi.  
li 2 epi. ad  
Augustum

The poet facioneth by some pleasant meane  
The speach of childzen tender and vnure:  
Pulling their cares from wordes vncleane.  
Gyuing to them preceps that are pure,  
Rebuking enuy and wzath, if it dure,  
Things wel done he can by example cōmēd.  
The needy and sicke he doth also his cure,  
To recomfort, if ought he can amende.

But they whiche bee ignozant in poetes,  
will perchaunce obiecte, as their manner is,  
against these verses, sayinge: that in Terence,  
and other, that wer wzriters of Comedies,  
Ouid, Catullus, Martialis, and all that  
route of lasciuious poetes, y wzote epistles  
and dities of loue, some called in latin Elegie,  
and some Epigrammata, is nothing conteyned,  
but incitation to lechery.

Comedies.

First comedies, whiche they suppose to  
be a doctrinall of rybandry, they be vndoubtedlye  
a picture, or as it were a myzroure of mans  
life, wherein euill is not taughte, but  
discouered to the intent that men beholdinge  
the promptnes of youth vnto vice, the snares  
of harlottes & bauds, layd for young minds,  
the deceit of seruantes, the chaunces of fortune,  
cōtrary to mens expectation, they being  
there:



therof warned, maye prepare themselves to resist & pzeuent occasion. Semblably remēbring the wisdomes, aduertisements, counsels, dissuasions from vice, & other profitable sentences most eloquently & familiarly shewed in those comedies: vndoubtedly ther shalbe no lytle fruite out of them gathered. And if the vices in them expressed, should be cause, & the minds of & readers shold be corrupted: then by the same argument not only enterludes in English, but also sermons wher in some vice is declared, shold be to & beholders and hearers like occasion to increse sinners. And that by comedyes good counsayle is ministred: it appeareth by the sentence of Parmeno in the second comedie of Terence.

In this thing I triūph in mine own cōceit,  
That I haue found for al yōūg men & way:  
How they of harlots shal know the deceit,  
Their wits, & manners, & thereby they may  
Them perpetually hate: for so much as they  
Out of their own houses be fresh & delicate,  
Feeding curiously: at home all the day  
Lying beggarly, in most wretched estate

Ther be many moe words spoken, which I purposely omit to translate, notwithstanding the substance of the whole sentence is heere-in comprised. But now to come to other Poets what may be better sayd, than is written by Plautus in his first Comedie?

J. iij.

Verily

## The Gouvernour.

Plautus in  
Amph.i.  
Alc.loqui.

Verily Vertue doth all things excell,  
For if libertie, health, lyuing and substance,  
Our country, our parents & children do wel,  
It hapneth by Vertue, she doth al aduance.  
Vertue hath all thing vnder gouernance,  
And in whom of vertue is foud great plēty,  
Any thing that is good may neuer be deinty

Ouidius de  
remed. a  
moris.

Also Ouidius, that seemeth to be most of  
all Poets lasciuious, in his most wantonne  
bookes hath right commendable and noble  
sentences, as for prooffe theroff, I wil recite  
some that I haue taken at aduenture.

Time is medicine if it shall profite,  
Wine giuen out of time may be anoyance,  
A man shall irritate vice, if he be prohibite  
When time is not meete vnto his vttrance.  
Therefore, if thou yet by consaile art recu-  
perable.

Fly thou from Idlenesse, & alway be stable.

Martialis, which for his dissolute wꝛiting,  
is most seldome read of men of much graui-  
tie, hath notwithstanding many commenda-  
ble sentences and right wise counsayles, as  
among diuers I will rehearse one, which is  
first come to my remembꝛaunce.

Martialis  
li.12. ad  
Imlium.

If thou wilt eschew bitter aduenture,  
And auoyd the gnawing of a pensifull hart,  
Set in no one person al wholly thy pleasure,  
The lesse shalt thou ioy, but lesse shalt thou  
smart.

I could recite a great number of semblable good sentences, out of these and other wanton poets which in latin do expresse them incomparably, with more grace and delectation to the reader then our English tongue may comprehend. wherfoze since good & wise matter may be picked out of these poets: it were no reason for some lyttle matter, that is in their beareses, to abandon therfoze all their workes, no more then it were to forbear or prohibit a man to come into a faire garden, least the redolent saucours of sweete hearbes and floures, shal moue him to a wanton courage, or least in gathering good & wholesome hearbs, he may happē to be stung with a nettel. No wise man entreth into a garden, but he soone espieth good hearbs from nettels, & treadeth the nettels vnder his feet, whiles he gathereth good hearbs, wherby he taketh no damage, Or if he be stung, he maketh light of it, and shortly forgetteth it. Semblably if he doe read wanton matter, mixt with wisdom, he putteth the worst vnder foote, & sorteth out the best: or if his courage be stirred or prouoked, he remembreth the little pleasure and great detriment that shoulde ensue of it: and withdrawing his minde to some other study or exercise, shortly forgetteth it.

And therfoze among the leues, though it were prohibite to childezen, vntill they came to ripe yeres, to read the bookes of Genesis, of the Iudges, Cantica canticorum, & some



## The Gouvernour.

part of the booke of Ezechiel the Prophet. For that in them was conteyned some matter, which might happē to incense the young minde, wher-in were sparkes of carnall concupiscence: yet after certeine yeres of menages, it was lawfull for euery man to read & diligently study those workes. So although I approue not the lesson of wanton Poets to be taught vnto all childzen: yet thinke I conuenient and necessary, that when y<sup>e</sup> minde is become constant & courage is asswaged, or that childzen of their naturall disposition be shamefast & continent, none auncient Poet woulde bee excluded from the lesson of such a one, as desireth to come to the perfection of wisdom.

But in defending of Orators and Poets, I had almost forgotten where I was. Verily there may no man be an excellent Poet, nor Orator, vnlesse he haue part of all other doctrine, specially of noble Philosophy. And to saye the troth, no man can apprehende the very delectation, that is in the lesson of noble Poets, vnlesse he haue read verye much, and in diuers authozs of diuers learnings. wherefore as I late sayde, to augmentatiō of vnderstanding called in Latine, Intellectus & mens, is required to be much reading and vigilant studie in euery science, specially of that part of Philosophy named moral, which instructeth men in vertue and politike gouernaunce. Also no noble authoz, specially  
of

of them that wrote in Greke or Latin, before  
xij. C. yeares passed, is not for any cause to  
be omitted. For there in I am of Quintili-  
ans opinion, that there is few or none auncie-  
nt worke, that yeeldeth not some fruite or  
commoditie to the diligent readers. And it  
is a very grosse or obstinate wit, that by rea-  
ding much is not some what amended.

Concerning the election of other authoꝝ  
to be red, I haue (as I trust) declared suffi-  
ciently my conceipt and opinion, in the .x. &  
xi. chapters.

Finally, lyke as a delycate tree, that com-  
meth of a kernell, which as soone as it bur-  
geneth out leaues if it bee plucked vp, or it  
be sufficiently rooted and layde in a coꝝner,  
becommeth dry or rotten, and no fruite com-  
meth of it: If it be remoued and sette in an  
other ayre or earth, which is of coꝝtrary qua-  
lyties where it was before, it either sembla-  
bly dyeth, or beareth no fruite, or els y<sup>e</sup> fruit  
that commeth of it, leeseeth his verdure and  
tast, and finally his estimation. So the pure  
and excellent learning, where-off I haue  
spoken, though it be sown in a childe neuer  
so timely, and springeth and burgeneth neuer  
so pleasauntly, if before it take a deepe roote  
in the minde of the childe, if it bee layde a-  
side, either by too much solace, or continuall  
attendaunce in seruice, or elles is translated  
to an other study which is of a moze grosse  
or vnpleasaunt qualytic, before it bee confir-

## The Gouvernour.

ined or stablished by often readinge or diligent exercise, in conclusion it vanissheth and comineth to nothing. Wherefoze let men reply as they list, in mine opinion, men be wonderfully deceiued now a dayes (I dare not say, with the perswasion of anarice) & doe put their childre at y age of .xiiij. or .xv. yerres, to the studie of the lawes of the realm of England, I will shew them reasonable causes why, if they will paciently heare me, informed partly by mine owne experience.

Hovv the students in the lavvs of this realm may take excellent commoditie by the lessons of sundry doctrines. Cap. 14.

It may not be denied, but that al lawes  
**I**be founded on the deepest parte of reason, and as I suppose no one law so much as our owne : and the deeper men doe inuestigate reason, the moze diffcile or harde must needes be the studie. Also the reuerend studie is inuolued in so barbarus a language, that it is not onely boyd of al eloquence, but also being seperate from the exercise of our law onely, it serueth to no commoditie or necessary purpose, no man vnderstāding it, but they, which haue studyed the lawes. Then childzen at fourteene or fifteene yeaeres olde, in which time springeth courage, sette all in pleasure, and pleasure is in nothing that is not facile or elegant, beeing brought to the  
most



most difficile and graue learning, which hath nothing illecebrous or delicate to tickle their tender wits, and allure them to study, vnles it be lucre (which a gentle witte lyttle esteemeth) the moze part vanquished with tediousnesse, either do abandon the lawes, & vnwares to their friends, do giue them to gaming, and other (as I might say) idle businesse, now called pastimes, or els if they bee in any wise there-to constrained, they apprehending a preece there-off, as if they beeing long in a darke dungion, onely did see by the lyght of a candle. Then if after .xx. or .xxx. yeres study, they happē to come among wise men, hearing matters comuned off, concerning a publyke weale or out-warde affaires betweene Princes, they no lesse be astonied, then if they comming out of a darke house at noone dayes, were sodeinly striken in y eyes with a bryght Sunne beame. But I speake not this in reproch of lawyers, for I know diuers of them, which in consultation, will make a right behement reason, & so doe some other which haue neither law nor other learning, and if they were furnished with excellent doctrine, their reason should be y moze substantiall and certeine.

There be some also, which by their friēds, be coarted to applye the studie of the Lawe onely, and for lacke of plentuous exhibition be let of their libertie: wherefore they cannot resoꝛt vnto pastime. These of all other bee  
most

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most cast away: For Nature repugning, they scarce taste any thing that may be profitable, and also their courage is so mortified (which yet by solace perchance might be, made quicke or apte to some other studie or laudable exercise, that they lyue ener after, out of all estimation. Wherefore Tully sayth: We should so endeuour our selues, that wee strine not with the vniuersall nature of man but that being conserued, let vs followe our own proper natures: for though ther be studies of moze grauitie and importaunce, yet ought we to regard & studies, wher-to we be by our owne nature inclined. And that this sentence is true, we haue daylye experience in this Realme specially. For howe manye men bee there, whose sonnes in child-hoode are aptly disposed by nature to painte, kerue or graue, to embrowder, or doe other lyke things, where-in is anye arte commendable, concerning inuention, which as soone as they espye it, be there-with displeased, and forth-with bindeth them appzentices to tailours, weauers, toukers, and some time to coblars? which hath bene the inestimable losse of manye good wittes, and hath caused that in the sayd Artes, English men be inferiours to all other people, and be constrained, if wee will haue anye thing well paynted, karued, or imbrowdzed, to leaue our owne countrey-men, and resort vnto straungers: but moze of this shall I speake in the  
next

next volume. But to resort vnto lawyers.

I thinke verily, if childzen were brought vp, as I haue witten, & continually were retained in y<sup>e</sup> right study of very philosophy vntill they passed the age of xxi. yeares: and then set to the lawes of this realme (beynge once brought to a moze certaine and compendious study, and either in englishe, Latine, or good french, witten in a moze cleane and elegant style) vndoubtedly they should become men of so excellent wisdom, that throughout all the world should be founden in no common weale moze noble counsayloures: our lawes, not onely comprehendinge moste excellent reasons, but also being gathered and compact (as I might saye) of the pure meale or flowze, syfted out of the best lawes in all other countreys, as somewhat I do intende to proue evidently in the next volume, wher in I will render mine office or duety, to that honorable studye whereby my father was aduanced to a Iudge, and also I my selfe haue attayned no little commoditie.

I suppose there be dyuers men will saye. that the sweetenesse that is contained in eloquence, and the multitude of doctrines shold utterly withdraw the mindes of young men from the moze necessary studye of the lawes of this realme. To them wil I make a brieve answer, but true it shall bee, and I truste sufficient to wise men. In the great multitude of younge men, whiche alway wyll re-  
payze



## The Gouvernour.

payze, and the lawe being once, brought into a moze certain and perfect language, will also increase in the reuerente studie of the lawe: vndoubtedly there shall neuer lacke, but some by nature inclyned, dyuers by desire of sundry doctrines, manye for hope of lucre, or some other aduancement, will effectually study the lawes, ne wil be there from withdrawn by any other lesson, whiche is moze eloquent. Example we haue, at this present time, of dyuers excellent learned men both in the lawes ciuile and also in phisicke, whiche beinge exactly studied in all partes of eloquence, bothe in the Greke tongue and latine, haue notwithstanding read and perused the greate fardelles and trusses of the most barbarous authours stuffed with innumerable gloses: whereby the most necessary doctrines of lawe and phisicke be minced into fragmentes, and in all wise mens opinions, do perceiue no lesse in the said learnings, then they which neuer knewe eloquence or neuer tasted other but the fecis or draggs of the saide noble doctrines. And as for the multitude of sciences can not indamage any student, but if he be moued to studie the law by any of the saide motions, by me before touched, he shall rather increse therein, then be hindred, and that shall appeare manifestly to them, that either will giue credence to my reporte, or els wyl read the workes that I will alledge, which if they vnderstand not

to desire some learned man by interpzettinge to cause them perceiue it. And fyrst I wyll beginne at Oratours, who beare the principalitie of eloquence.

It is to be remembred, & in the lerning of the lawes of this realme, ther is at this day an exercise, wherein is a maner of a shadowe or figure of the auncient rethorike, I meane the pleading vsed in courte and chancery called motes. Where fyrste a case is appointed to be moted by certein young men, cōteining some doubtful controuersie, which is in stede of the head of a declamation, called Thema, the case beinge knowen, they whiche be appoynted to mote, do examin y case, & inuestigate what they therin can espye, which may make a contention, wherof may ryse a question to be argued, and that of Tullie is constitutio, and of Quintilian status causæ. Also they consider what pleas on euerye parte ought to be made, & how the case may be reasoned. which is the first part of Rethorike, named inuention. Then appoynt they, how many pleas may be made for euery part, and in what formalitie they shalbe sette. Whiche is the seconde parte of Rethorike, called disposition, wherein they doe muche appzoch vnto Rethorike. Then gather they all into perfecte remembraunce, in suche order as it oughte to bee pleaded, whiche is the parte of Rethorike, named Memorie. But for as muche as the tongue, wherin it is spoken

The art of  
rethorike  
in moting.

## The Gouvernour.

is barbarous, and the sterring of affectiōs of the minde in this realme was neuer vsed, therfoze ther lacketh Eloquution and Pronunciation, two of the princypall parts of Rethorike. Notwithstanding some lawyers, if they be well reteined, will in a meane cause pronouce right vehemently. Moreover, ther seemeth to be in the saide pleadings, certeine partes of an oration, that is to say, for Narrations, Partitions, Confyrmations, and Confutations, named of somme Reprehensions. They haue Declaratiōs, Barres, replications, and Retoynders, onely they lacke pleasant forme of beginning, called in Latine Exordium, nor it maketh thereof no greate matter, they that haue studied rethorik, shall perceiue what I meane. Also in arguinge their cases, in myne opinion they lacke verye little of the whole art: for therin they do diligently obserue the rules of Confirmation and Confutation, wherein resteth profe and disprofe: hauing almost all the places, wherof they shall fetch their reasons, called of oratozs, Loci communes, which I ompt to name, fearing to be too long in this matter. And verilye I suppose, if there might once happen some man, hauing an excellent witte to bee brought vp in such forme as I haue hytherto wrytten, and may also be exactelye or depely learned in the arte of an oratoure, and also in the lawes of this realme, the prynce so willing and thereto assenting, vndoubt=



Doubtedly it shuld not be impossible for hym  
to bring the pleading and reasoninge of the  
lawe, to the auncient fourme of noble Ora-  
tours: and the lawes and exercise thereof,  
beinge in pure Latine or doulce french, fewe  
men in consultacions, shoulde (in mine opi-  
nion) compare with oure lawyers, by this  
meanes being brought to perfecte orators,  
as in whom shoulde thē be founden the sharp  
wyttes of Logicians, the graue sentences of  
philosophers, the elegancy of poetes, the me-  
mozy of ciuilians, the voyce and gesture of  
them that can pronounce comedies, whyche  
is all that Tully, in the person of the moste  
eloquent man Marcus Antonius, coulde re-  
quire to be in an oratour.

Ci. de orat.  
tore. lib. 1.

But now to conclude mine assertiō. what  
let was eloquence to the studye of the lawe  
in Quintus Sceuola, whiche being an ex-  
cellent authoz in the lawes ciuile, was called  
of all lawyers moste eloquente? Or howe  
much was eloquence mynished by knowe-  
ledge of the lawes in Crassus, whyche was  
called of all eloquent men the best lawyer?

Also Seruus Sulpitius, in his tyme one  
of the most noble oratours, nexte vnto Tul-  
ly, was not so lette by eloquence, but that on  
the Ciuile lawes he made notable commen-  
tes, and many noble workes by all lawyers  
approued. who readeth the texte of Ciuile,  
called the Pandectes or Digestes, & hath a-  
ny commēdable iudgemēt in y latin tongue,

E.

but

## The Gouvernour.

but he will affirme, that Vlpianus, Sceuola, Caius, and all the other there named, of whose sayings all the saide textes be assembled, were not onely studious of eloquence, but also therein wonderfully exercised: for as much as their stile doth appoche nerer to the antique & pure eloquence, then any other kind of wyrters that wrote about that time:

Cer. Tabe  
oratore.

Seemably Tully, in whom it seemeth, that Eloquence hath set hir glorious throne most richly and preciously addorned for all men to wonder at, but no man to appoche it, was not let from being an incomparable oratour, ne was by y exact knowledge of other sciences withdrawen from pleading infinite causes befoze the Senate & Judges, & they being of moit weighty importance: Insomuch as Cornelius Tacitus, an excellent oratoure historien, and lawyer, sayth: Surelve in the bookes of Tully, menne maye depzehende, that in him lacked not the knowledge of geometrie, ne musicke, or grammer. Fynallye of no manner of arte that was honest, hee of logike perceiued the subtiltie, of that parte that was mozell of all the comodity & of all thinges the chiefe motions and causes. And yet for all this aboundance, and as it were a garnerde heaped with all manner sciences: there fayled not in him substanciall learning in the lawes ciuile, as it may appere as well in the bookes, whiche hee him selfe made of lawes, as also, and mooste specially in manye  
of

of his most eloquent orations: whiche if one well learned in the lawes of this realme, dyd reade and well vnderstande, he shoulde finde specially in his orations called *Actiones a-*gain *Verres*, many places, where he should espye by likelyhoode the fountaynes, from whence proceeded dyuers grounds of our comon lawes. But I will now leaue to speake any moze thereof at this time.

Moreouer, when young men haue reade lawes expounded in the *Orations* of *Tully*, and also in *hystories*, of the begynninge of Lawes, and in the workes of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Aristotle*, of the dyuersities of lawes and publike weales, if nature (as I late saide) will dispose them to that manner study, they shalbe thereto the moze incensed, and come vnto it the better prepared & furnished. And they whome nature thereto nothing moueth, haue not onelye saued all that time, which many now a dayes doe consume in idlenesse, but also haue wonne such a treasure, whereby they shall alwaye bee able to serue honourablye theyr Prince, the publyke weale of theyr countrey: principally if they conferre al their doctrines to the moste Noble studie of *Mozal philosophy*, whiche teacheth both vertuous manners, and civile polycye: whereby at the last we should haue in this realme sufficiency of worshipfull Lawyers, and also a publike weale equiualent to the *Greekes* or *Romaines*.



## The Gouvernour.

For what cause at this day there be in  
this realme fewve perfect schole  
maisters. Cap.xv.



God Lorde, howe manye  
good & clean wits of chil-  
dren be now a dayes pery-  
shed by ignozant schoole-  
maisters: How little sub-  
stantial doctrine is appre-  
hended by the fewnesse of  
good grammarians? Notwithstanding I  
know & ther be some wel lerned, which haue  
taught, & also do teach, but God knoweth a  
few, & they with small effect, hauing thereto  
no comfort: their aptest & most proper scho-  
lers, after they be wel instructed in speaking  
Latine, & vnderstanding some poetes, beinge  
taken from their schoole by their parentes,  
and either be brought to the court, and made  
lackayes or pages, or else are bounden pen-  
tyles, whereby the worship that the maister  
aboue anye rewarde, coueteth to haue by  
the praise of his scholler, is vtterly drowned.  
Wherof I haue heard schoole-maisters very  
wel learned, of good right, cōplaine. But yet  
(as I said) the fewnesse of good grāmariās  
is a great impediment of doctrine. And here  
I would the readers should mark, & I note  
to be few good grammarians, and not none,  
I call not them grammarians, whiche onely  
can teache or make rules, whereby a chyld  
shall

shal only learne to speake congrue Latin, or  
to make fixe beareses standing on one foote,  
wher-in perchaunce shall be neither sentence  
noz eloquence. But I name him a Grāma-  
rian by the authoritie of Quintiliā, that spe-  
king Latin elegantly, can expound good au-  
thors, expressing the inuention & disposition  
of y<sup>e</sup> matter, their stile or forme of eloquence,  
explicating the figures, as well of sentences  
as wordes, leauing nothing, person or place  
named by the author, vndeclared or hid from  
his schollers. wherefore Quintilian sayeth,  
it is not inough for him to haue red Poets,  
but al kindes of w<sup>r</sup>iting must also be sought  
for, not for the Histories onely: but also for  
the propertie of wordes, which commonly do  
receiue their authoritie of noble Authors.

Fa. Quinti-  
lian. li. i.

More ouer with-out Musicke, Grammer  
may not be perfect: forasmuch as there-in  
must be spoken of metres & harmonies, cal-  
led Rythmi in Greeke. Neither if hee haue  
not the knowledge of starres, he may vnder-  
stande Poets, which in description of times  
(I omit other things) they traict of the ri-  
sing and going downe of Planets. Also he  
may not be ignoraunt in Philosophy, for  
many places that be almost in euerie Poet  
be fetched out of the most subtile part of na-  
tural questions. These be wel nigh y<sup>e</sup> wordes  
of Quintilian. Than behold how few Grā-  
marians, after this description, bee in this  
Realme.

## The Gouvernour,

Undoubtedly there be in this realme many wel learned, which if the name of a schoole-master were not so much had in contempte, and also if their laboures with abountaunt salaries might bee requited, were right sufficient and able to induce their hearers to excellent learning, so they be not plucked away greene, & ere they be in doctrine sufficiently rooted. But now a dayes, if to a Bacheloz or Master of art, study of Philosophy waxeth tedious, if he haue a spoonefull of Latin, he will shewe forth a hoggesheadde without anye learning, and offer to teach Grammer, and expound noble Writers: and to be in the rounge of a master, he wil for a small salary, sette a false coulour of learning on proper wittes, which wil be washed away with one shower of rayne. For if the children be absent from schoole, by the space of one month, the best learned of them wil vnneth tel, whether Fato, where-by Aeneas was brought into Italy, were either a man, a horse, a ship, or a wylde goose: although their master will perchaunce aduaunce him selfe to be a good Philosopher.

Virgilius  
Æneid. ver  
su. secundo.

Fa. Quinti  
lian. li. 2.

Some men peraduenture do thinke, that at the beginning of learning: it forceth not although the masters haue not so exact doctrine as I haue rehearsed, but let them take good heede what Quintilian sayth: It is so much better, to bee instructed by them that are best learned, forasmuch as it is difficult  
to



to putte out of the minde, that which is once  
setled, the double burdden being painefull to  
the masters that shal succeed, & verely much  
moze to vnteach than to teach.

Wherefoze it is wrytten, that Timothy the  
noble Musitian demaunded alwaye a grea-  
ter reward of them whom other taught, then  
of them that neuer any thing learned. These  
be the wordes of Quintilian, or lyke.

Also, the common experience teacheth, & no  
man will put his sonne to a botcher to learne  
or he binde him prsentise to a taploz. Or if he  
wil haue him a cūning gold-smith, wil binde  
him first prētise to a tinkar. In these things  
pooze men be circumspecte, but the Nobles  
and Gentlemen, who would haue their sons  
by excellent learning come vnto honour, for  
sparing of cost, or for lacke of diligent serch  
for a good schole-master, wilfullpe destrope  
their childzen, causing them to bee taughte  
that learning, which woulde require sixe or  
seauen yeares to bee forgotten: By which  
time the moze parte of that age is spente,  
where-in is the chiefe sharpenesse of witte,  
called in Latine Acumen, and also then ap-  
proacheth the stubbozne age, where the  
childe brought vp in pleasure disdaineth cor-  
rection.

Now haue I all declared (as I doe sup-  
pose) the chiefe impeachments of excellent  
learning, of the reformation I neede not to

G. iiij.

speake

## The Gouvernour.

speake since it is apparant, that by the contraries, men pursuing earnestly with discret iudgement and liberalitie, it should soone be amended.

Of sundry formes of exercise necessary  
for euery Gentleman. Cap. 16.

**A**lthough I haue hetherto aduanced the commendation of learning, specially in Gentlemen: yet it is to be considered, that continuall studie without some manner of exercise, shortly exhausteth the spirites vitall, and hindzeth naturall decoction and digestion, where-by mans body is the soner corrupted & brought into diuers sickeneses, and finally the lyfe is there-by made shorter. Where contrariwise, by exercise, which a vehement motion (as Galen Prince of Philitions desineth) the health of man is preserved & his strength increased: forasmuch as y<sup>e</sup> members by moving and mutuall touching, doe waxe more harde, and naturall heate in all the bodye is there-by augmented. Moreouer it maketh the spirites of a man, more strong and valiant, so that by the hardnes of the members all laboures bee more tollerable, by naturall heate, the appetite is the more quicke: the chaunge of y<sup>e</sup> substance receiued is the more ready, the nourishing of all parts of the body

by is the moze sufficient & sure. By valiant motion of the spirites, all thinges superfluous be expelled, and the conduits of the body cleansed.

wherefoze this parte of Physick is not to be contemned or neglected in the education of childzen, & specially from the age of .xiiij. yeares bpward: in which time strength with courage increaseth.

Moreouer, there bee diuers manners of exercises, where-off some onely prepareth and helpeth digestion, some augmenteth also strength and hardinesse of bodye, other serue for agilitie and nimblenesse, some for celeritie or speedinesse. There be also, which ought to be vsed for necessitie onely. All these ought he that is a tutour to a noble man, to haue in remembraunce: & as opportunitie serueth to put them in experience. And specially them which with health do ioyne commoditie (and as I might saye) necessitie: Considering that be he neuer so noble or valiant, sometime hee is subiecte to perill, or (to speake it moze pleasantly) seruaunt to Fortune. Touching such exercises, as many bee vsed within the house, or in the shadowe (as is the olde manner of speking) as deambulations or moderate walkings, labouring with popses made of leade, or other mettall, called in Latin Aliteres. Lifting and throwing the heauy stone or barre, playing at tennice, and diuers semblable exercises, I will for this time passe



## The Gouvernour.

ouer, exhortinge them, which doe vnderstand Latin, and do desire to know the commodities of sundry exercises, to resort to the booke of Galen, of the gouernance of helth, called in Latin, De sanitate tuenda, where they shall be in that matter abundantly satisfied, & finde in the reading much delectation: which booke is translated into Latine, wonderfull eloquently by Doctor Linacre, late most worthy Phisition, to our most noble souereigne Lord king Henry the. viij. And I will now onely speake of those exercises, apte to the furniture of a Gentlemans personage, adapting his body to hardenesse, strength and agilitie, and to helpe therewith himself in perill, which may happen in wars or other necessitie.

Exercises, where-by should grow both recreation and profite. Cap. 17.

**W**restling is a verie good exercise in the beginning of youth, so that it bee with one that is equall in strength or some-what vnder, and that the place be soft, that in falling their bodies be not bruised.

Vvrestling  
Galenus.

There be diuers manners of wrestling: but the best, as wel for health of body, as for exercise of strength is, when laying mutually their hands one ouer an others neck, with the other hande they holde fast each other by the arme, and clasping their legs together, they

they inforce themselves with strength and agilitie, to throw downe each other, which is also praised by Galen. And vndoubtedly, it shall be found profitable in warres, in case that a capitaine shall be constrained to coape with his aduersary hande to hande, hauing his weapon broken or lost. Also it hath bene scene, that the weaker person by the sleight of wrestling hath ouer-thrown the stronger, almost or he could fasten on the other any violent stroake.

Also Running is both a good exercise, & a Running. laudable solace. It is written of Epaminides the valyaunt Capitaine of the Thebanes, (who as well in vertue and prowesse, as in learning, surmounted all noble men of his time) that dayly he exercised him-self in the morning with running and leaping, in the euening in wrestling, to the intent that likewise in armure he might the more strongly, embracing his aduersary, put him in danger. And also that in the chase running and leaping, he might either ouer-take his enemy, or being pursued, if extreame neede required, escape him.

Semblably before him did the worthy Achilles, for whiles his ships laye at roade, he suffered not his people to slumber in idlenesse, but dayly exercised them and himselfe in running, where-in he was most excellent, and passed all other: and therfore Homere through-out all his worke calleth him swift

## The Gouvernour.

Swift foote Achilles.

The great Alexander, being a childe, excelled all his companions in running. Wherefoze on a time one demaunded of him, if hee would runne at the great game of Olympus, wher-to out of al parts of Greece, came the moste actiue and valyaunt persons to assaye mastreyes. Where-vnto Alexander answered in this form. I would very gladly run ther, if I were sure to runne with kings: for if I should contend with a priuate person hauing respect to both our estates, our victories should not be equall.

Speedes must running be taken for a laudable exercise, since one of the most noble capitaines of al the Romaines, tooke his name of running, & was called Papyrius Cursor, which is in English, Papyrius, the Runner.

And also, the valyaunt Marius the Romaine, when he had bene seuen times Consull, and was of the age of foure scoze yeres, exercised him-selfe daylye among the young men of Rome, in such wise that ther resorted people out of far parts, to behold & strength and agilitie of that olde Consull, wherein hee compared with the young and lustye souldiours.

Swimming

There is an exercise, which is right profitable in the extreame daunger of wars, but bicause there seemeth to be some peril in the learning ther-off, and also it hath not bene of longe time muche vsed, specialllye among noble



ble men, perchance some readers will lyttle esteeme it, I meane swimminge. But notwithstanding, if they reuolue the imbecillitie of our nature, the hasardes and daungers of battaile, with the examples whiche shall hereafter be shewed, they will (I doubt not) thinke it as necessarye to a captaine or man of armes, as any that I haue yet reherfed.

The Romanes, who aboue all thinges, hadde most in estimation martiall prowesse, had a large and spacious felde, wythout the citie of Rome, whych was called Marces felde, in Latine campus Martius, where-in the youth of the Citie was exercysed. This felde adioyned to the ryuer of Tyber, to the intent that as well men as childzen, shoulde washe and refreshe them in the water after their labours, as also learne to swimme.

Campus  
Martius.

And not men and childzen onely, but also the hoxses: that by such vsage they shoulde moze aptely and boldely passe ouer greate ryuers, and bee moze able to resist or cut the waues, & not to be affraid of pirries or great stormes. For it hath ben oftentimes sene, that by the good swimming of hoxses, manye men hath bene saued: and contrarie-wyse by a tymorous royle, wher the water hath bneeth come to his beally, his leges hath foltred, whereby many a good and proper man hath perished. What benefyte receyued the whole Cytie of Rome, by the swimminge of Oratius Coclus: whych is a noble hystoꝛye, and worthy

## The Gouvernour.

to be remembred.

After the Romaines hadde expelled Tarquine their king, as I haue befoze remembred, he desyred ayde of Porsena, Kinge of Tuscanes, a noble and valiant pzince, to recouer eftsoones his realme and dignitie: who with a great and puissant hoste, besieged the citie of Rome, and so sodaynly and sharpely assaulted it, that it lacked but lyttle, but y<sup>e</sup> he ne had entred into the citye with his hoste ouer the brydge called Sublitius, where encountred wyth hym this Oratius, with a fewe Romaines. And whyles this noble capitain being alone, with an incredible strength resisted all the host of Porsena, that were on the brydge, he commaunded the brydge to bee broken behinde him, wherewithall the Tuscanes thereon standinge, fell into the greater ryuer of Tyber, but Oratius all armed lepte into the water, and swamme to hys compaignye. Albeit that he was stricken with manye arrowes and dartes, and also greuousely wounded, notwithstandinge by his noble courage and feate of swymminge, hee saued the citie of Rome from perpetuall seruitude which was likelie to haue ensued by the returne of the proude Tarquine.

Inl. Caesar  
swimming.

Howe muche profyted the feate of swymming to the balyaunt Iulius Cæsar: who at the battayle of Alexandri, on a brydge being abandoned of his people for the multitude of his enemies, whiche oppressed them  
when

when he might no longer susteyne the shotte of darts and arrowes, he boldly leapt into the sea, and dyuing vnder the water, escaped the shotte, and swam the space of CC. paces to one of the shippes, drawing his coate armor with his teethe after him, that his enimyes shoulde not atteme it, and also that it might somewhat defende him from their arrowes: And that more meruaile was, holding in his hand aboue the water, certein letters which a little befoze he had receiued frō the senate.

Before hym Sertorius (who of the Spaniards was named a secende Anniball, for hys prowesse) in the battaile that Scipio fought against the Cimbres, whyche inuaded Fraunce, when by negligence of his people, his ennemie preuayled, and put his host to the worse, he beinge sore wounded, and his horse beinge losse, armed as hee was in a gesseron, holding in his handes a target and his sword, leapt into the ryuer of Rone, whiche is wonderfull swifte, and swimming against the streame, came to his company, not without greate wounderinge of all his enimyes, which stood and behelde him.

The great king Alexander lamented, that he had not well learned to swymme. For in Indie when hee went against the puissaunt Kinge Porus, he was constrayned in following his enterpryse, to conuey his horse ouer a ryuer of wonderfull greatnes: then caused he his horsemen to gage the water, whereby



## The Gouvernour.

he fyrst perceiued that it came to the brestes of the hozses, & in the myddle of the streame the hozses went in water to the neck, wherewith the footemen being afearde, durste not aduenture to passe ouer the riuer. Alexander perceiuing that, with a dolorous manner in this wise lamented, O howe most vnhappye am I of all other, that haue not oz this time learned to swymme: And therewith he pulled a targette from one of his souldiours, and casting it into the water, standing on it, with his speare conueyed him-selfe with the streame, and gouerning the targette wisely, brought him-selfe vnto the other syde of the water. Whereof his people being abashed, some assayed to swymme, some holdinge fast by the hozses, other by speares, and other lyke weapons, many vpon fardels and trusses gate ouer the ryuer: in so much as nothing was perished saue a little bagguage & that of no great quantie lost.

What vilitie was shewed to be in swimming at the fyrste warres whych the Romaynes had againste the Carthaginences? It happened a battayle to bee on the sea betwene them, where they of Carthage, beinge vanquished, woulde haue set vp their sayles to haue fledde, but that perceiuinge dyuers young Romaines, thzew them-selues into the Sea, and swimminge vnto the shippes, enforced their enemyes to stryke on lande, and there assaulted them so asprely, that the

capit

capitaine of the Romaines, called Lucratius might easely take them.

Nowe to beholde, what excellent commoditye is in the feate of swimming, since no kinge, be hee neuer so puissaunt or perfecte in the experience of warres, may assure himselfe from the necessities, whiche fortune soweth among menne that be mortall. And since on the health and safegarde of a noble capitaine, oftentimes dependeth the weale of a realme, nothing should be kept from his knowledge, whereby his personne may be in euery ieoperdy p̄serued.

Among the exercyses it shalbe conuenient to learne to handle sundry weapons, specially the sword and the bataile axe: which be for a noble man most conuenient.

Defence  
vvith vves  
pons.

But the most honourable exercise in mine oppinion, and that becometh the estate of euery noble personne, is to ryde surely and cleane, on a great horse and a rough, whiche vndoubtedly not onely importeth a maiestie and dreade to inferiour personnes, beholding him aboue the common course of other men, daunting a fierce and cruel beast, but also is no lyttle succour, as well in pursuite of enemies and confounding them, as in escaping imminent daunger, when wisdom thereto exhorteth. Also a strong and hardy horse doth sometime moze damage vnder his maister, than he with all his weapon: and also setteth forwarde the stroke, and causeth it to lyghte

Ryding &  
vaunting of  
Horses.

H.

with

## The Gouvernour.

with moze violence.

Bucephal.

Bucephal, the hōse of great kynge Alexander, who suffered none on his backe saue onely his maister, at the battayle of Thebes being soze wounded, woulde not suffer the king to departe from him to an other hōse, but persisting in his furious courage, wonderfully continued out the battaile, with his feete and teeth beating downe & destroyinge many enimyes: and manye semblable maruailes of his strength he shewed. Wherefore Alexander, after the hōse was slaine, made in remembraunce of him a cytie in the countrey of India, and called it Bucephal, in perpetuall memozy of so worthy a hōse, which in his life had so well serued him.

What wonderfull enterpryses did Iulius Cæsar atchiue by the help of his hōse: whiche not onelye did excell all other hōses in fiercenesse and swift running, but also was in some partes discrepante in figure from other hōses hauinge his fore hōues lyke to the feete of a man. And in that figure Plinius writeth, that he sawe him kerued befoze the temple of Venus.

Other remembraunce there is of dyuers hōses by whose monstrous power, men dyd exployte incredible affaires: but bicause the repozte of them contained thinges impossible, and is not written by any approued author, I will not in this place reherse them. Saying that it is yet supposed, that the ca-  
stell,



stell of Arundel in Suffex, was made by one Beauuize, erle of Southampton, for a monument of his horse called Arundell, whiche in farre countreys hadde saued his Maister from many perils. Arundell.

Nowe considering the vtilitie in rydyng great horses, it shalbe necessary (as I haue sayde) that a gentleman do learne to ryde a great and fierce horse whyle he is tender, & the braunes and sinewes of his thyghes not fully consolydate.

There is also a ryght good exercise, whiche is also expedient to learne whiche is named the vaunting of a horse: that is to leape on him at euery side without stirope or other helpe, specially whyles the horse is going.

And being therin expert, then armed at all poyntes to assaye the same, the commoditie whereof is so manifest, that I neede no further to declare it.

¶ The auncient hunting of Greekes and Romaines. Cap. xviiij.

**B**ut nowe will I proccede to write of exercises, which be not bitterly reproued of noble authours, if they be vsed with oportunitie & in measure. I meane hunting, hauking & daūsing. In hunting may be an imitation of battaile, if it be such as was vsed amonge them of Persia: whereof Xenophon, the noble and moste eloquent Philosopher

B. ij.

sophar

## The Gouvernour.

sopher maketh a delectable mention, in hys booke called the doctrine of Cyrus: and also maketh another speciall booke, conteyning the whole discipline of the auncient hunting of the Greekes: and in that fourme being bised, it is a laudable exercise, of the which I will nowe somewhat wryte.

The hunting of Persians  
Xenophon  
pedia Ci.  
lib. 1.

Cyrus, and other auncient kinges of Persia (as Xenophon wryteth) bised this manner in all their hunting. Fyrste, where as it seemeth, there was in the realme of Persia, but one cytie, whiche as I suppose, was called Persepolis, there were the childzen of the Persians, from their infancye, vnto the age of seuentene yeaeres, broughte vp in the learning of iustice and temperaunce, & also to obserue continence in meate and drinke: in so muche, that whether so euer they went, they toke with them for their sustinance, but only breade and herbes, called Cressis, in Latine Nasturtium: and for their drinke a dishe to take water out of the ryuers as they passed. Also they learned to shote, & to cast the dart or iauelyn. Whan they came to the age of xviij. yeres, they were lodged in the palayces, that were there ordained for the kinge and his nobles, which was as well for the sauegarde of the citie, as for the example of temperaunce, that they daylye had at theyr eyes giuen to them by the nobles: whyche also might bee called Peeres, by the signification of the Greeke worde, where-in they were called

called Omotimi. Moreover, they were accustomed to rise alway in the first spring of the day, & patiently to susteine alway both colde & heat: And the king did see them exercised in going and also in running. And when he intended, in his owne person to hunt, which he did commonly euery moneth, hee tooke to him the one halfe of the company of young men that were in the Palaices.

Then tooke euery man with him his bow and quiver with arrowes, his sword or hach of Steele, a little targat, and two dartes. The bowe and arrowes serued to pursue beastes that were swift: and the darts to assaile the, and all other beastes. And when their courage was chaufed, or that by fiercenesse of the beast they wer in daunger, than force constrained them to strike with the sword, or hache, and to haue good eye at the vholente assaulte of the beaste, and to defende them if needs were, with their targettes, wher in they accompted, to bee the truest and moste certeine meditation of warres. And to this hunting the king didde conducte them, and he himselfe first hunted such beastes as hee hapned to encounter. And when he had taken his pleasure, he then with most diligence did set other forwarde, beholding who hunted valyauntly, and refozming them, whom he saw neglygent or slouthfull. But ere they went forth to this Huntinge, they dynded competently: and during their hunting they



## The Gouvernour,

Dined no more. For if by any occasion they hunting continued aboute one day, they tooke the sayd diner for their supper: and the nexte daye if they killed no game, they hunted vntill supper time, accounting those two dayes but for one. And if they toke any thing, they eate it at their supper with ioy and pleasure. If nothing were killed, they eate only bread and cressis, as I besore reherfed, and dranke therto water. And if any man will dispraise this dyet, let him thinke what pleasure there is in bread to him that is hungry: and what delectation is in drinkeinge water to him that is thirstie. Surely this manner of huntinge may be called necessary solace & pastime, for there in is the very imitation of battayle. For not onely it doth shew the courage and strength, as well of the horse as of him that rideth, trauersing ouer mountaines and valleyes, encountring and ouerthrowing great and mightie beastes: but also it increaseth in them both agilytie & quicknesse, also sleight and polycie to finde such passages, & straits, where they may pzeuent or intrappe theyr enemyes. Also by continuauce ther-in, they shall easely susteine trauaile in warres, hunger and thirst, colde and heate. Hetherto be the wordes of Xenophon, although I haue not sette them, in lyke order as hec wrote them.

The hunting  
of the  
Greekes.

The chiefe hunting of the valiant Grekes,  
was at the Lyon, the Lybarde, the Tyger,  
the

the wilde Swine, and the Beare, and sometime the wolfe & the Harte. Theseus which was a companion to Hercules, atteyned the greatest part of his renoume, for fighting with the great Boare, which the Greeks called Phera, that wasted & consumed y<sup>e</sup> fieldes of a great country.

Meleager likewise for sleying y<sup>e</sup> great boare in Calidonia, which in greatnes & fiercenes excelled all other Boares: and had slayne many noble and valyant persons.

The great Alexander in times vacant frō battaile, delyted in that manner hunting. On a time he fought alone with a Lyon wonderfull great & fierce, being present among other strangers, the Ambassadour of Lacedemonia. And after long trauayle with incredible might he ouerthrew the Lyon and slew him, wherat the said ambassadour wondring maruailously, sayd to the king. I would to God (noble Prince) ye should fight with a Lyon for some great empire. By which words it seemed that hee nothing approued the valyantnesse of a Prince by fighting with a wilde beast, wher-in much more was aduentured, than might bee by the victoꝝ gotten.

Albeit Pompey, Sertorius, and diuers other noble Romaines, when they were in Numidia, Libia, and such other countryes, which now be called Barbari and Morisco, in the vacation season from warres, they hunted Lyons, Lybards, & such other beasts, fierce

The hunting of the Romaines

## The Gouvernour.

and sauage, to the intent there-by to exercise themselves & their soldiours. But almightie god be thanked in this realme be no such cruel beasts to be pursued. Notwithstanding in the hunting of red Deare & fallow, might be a great part of semblable exercise: vsed by noble men, specially in forrests which be spacious: if they woulde vse but a few number of houndes, onely to harborow or rouse the game, by their porning to giue knowledge, which way it flyeth, the remnaunt of the disport, to be in pursuing with Jauelin & other weapons in manner of warre. And to them which in this hunting doe shew most prowesse and actiuitie, a garlande or some other lyke token, to be giuen in signe of victorie, & with a ioyfull manner to bee brought in the presence of him that is chiefe in the company, there to receiue condigne prayse for their good endeouour.

I dispraise not the hunting of the Fore with running houndes, but it is not to be compared to the other hunting in commoditie of exercise. Therefore it wold be vsed in & deepe winter, whā the other game is vnseasonable.

Hunting of the hare with greyhounds, is a right good solace for men that be studious or them to whome Nature hath not giuen personage, or courage apt for the wars. And also for Gentlewomen, which feare neither sonne nor winde for appairing their beautie. And peraduenture they shall be ther-at lesse  
idle



idle, then they shoulde bee at home in their chambers.

Killing of Deere with bowes or Greyhoundes, serueth well for the Dot (as is the common saying) and therfore it must of necessitie be some-time vsed. But it containeth there-in no commendable solace or exercise, in comparison to the other forme of hunting, if it be diligently perceiued.

And as for hauking, I can finde no notable remembraunce, that it was vsed of auncient time among noble Princes. I call auncient time, befoze a thousande yeares passed, since which time, vertue and noblenes hath rather decayed than increased. Nor I coule neuer know who found first that disport.

Hauking.

Plinius maketh mencion in his. vij. booke of the history of Nature, that in the partes of Greece called Thracia, men and haukes, as it were by a confederacy tooke birdes together in this wise: The men sprange the Birdes out of the bushes, and the Hawkes soaring ouer them, beat them downe, so that the men might easely take them. And then did the men departe equallye the praye with the Faulcons, which being well serued, estates and of a custome repaired to such places: where being aloft they perceiued men to that purpose assembled.

By which rehearfall of Plinius, we maye coniecture that from Thracia came this disporte of Hauking. And I doubt not, but

H. v.

many

## The Gouvernour.

many other, as well as I haue seene a sem-  
blable experience of wilde Hobyess, which in  
some countreyes that be champaine, wil soare  
& lye aloft, houering ouer larkes & quailles,  
and keepe them down on the ground whiles  
they which awapt on the pray do take them.  
But in what wise, or wher-soeuer the begin-  
ning of hauking was, surely it is a right de-  
lectable solace, though ther-off commeth not  
so great vtilitie (concerning exercise) as ther  
doth of hunting. But I would our faukons  
might be satisfied with the diuision of theyr  
pray, as the ffaukons of Thracia were, that  
they needed not to deuour the Hens of this  
realme in such number, that vnles it be short-  
ly considered, and that ffaukons be brought  
to a more homely dyet, it is right likely, that  
with- in a short space of yeares, our familiar  
pultrie shal be as scarce, as be now partrich  
and Pheasant.

I speake not this in disprayse of the fau-  
kons, but of them which keepeth them lyke  
cocknyes. The meane Gentlemen & honest  
householders, which care for the gentle en-  
terteinement of their friends, do finde in their  
dish that I say trothe, and noble men shall  
right shortly espye it, whē they come sodein-  
lye to their friendes house, vnpurueyed for  
lacke of long warning.

But now to retourn to my purpose. Un-  
doubtedly hauking measurably vsed, and for  
a pastime, giueth to a man good appetite, to  
his

his supper. And at the least waye with-draweth him from other dalpaunce oz disportes dishonest, and to body and soule perchaunce pernicious.

Now I purpose to declare some thing concerning dauncing, wherein is merite of praise and dispraise, and I shall expresse it in suche forme, as I trust the reader shall finde therein a rare and singular pleasure, with also good learning in things not yet commonly knowen in our bulgar: which if it be read of him that hath good opportunitie, & quyet silence, I doubt not, but he shall take thereby such commoditie, as hee looked not to haue found in that exercise, which of the moze part of sadde men, is so lyttle esteemed.

That all dauncing is not to bee reprovued. Cap. 19.

I Am not of that opinion, that all dauncing generally is repugnaunt unto vertue, although some persons excellently learned, specially Diuines so do affirme it: which alway haue in their mouthes (when they come into the Pulpette) the saying of the noble Doctour Saint Augustine: That better it were to delue, oz to goe to Plough on s Sundaye, then to daunce. Which might bee spoken of that kinde of dauncing which was vsed in the time of Augustine, when euerye thing within the Empire of Rome declined  
from



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from their perfection, and the olde māner of dauncing was forgotten, and none remained, but that which was lasciuious, and corrupted the mindes of thē that daunced, and provoked sinne, as semblably some doe at this day. Also at þ time Idolatry was not clerely extinct, but diuers fragiments ther-off remained in euery region. And perchaunce solemne daunces, which were celebrate vnto the Paynyms false Gods, were yet continued, forasmuche as the pure Relygion of Christ was not in al places consolydate, and the Pastors and Curates did winke at such recreations: fearing if they shoulde hastely haue remoued it, and induced sodeinly the seueritie of Gods Lawes, they should stirre the people ther-by to a generall sedition, to the imminent danger and subuersion of Christs holy religion, late sower amōg thē, and yet not sufficiently rooted. But the wise and discreet Doctor saint Augustine, blsing the Art of an Orator, wher-in he was right excellent, omitting all rigorous menace or terrour, dissuaded them by the most easiell way, from that manner ceremony, belonging to Idolatrie, preferring befoze it bodely occupation, there by aggrauating the offence to God that was in that ceremony, since occupation, which is necessary for mannes sustinaunce, and in due times vertuous, is notwithstanding, prohibited to bee vsed on the Sundayes. And yet in these wordes of this noble

noble doctour is not so generall dispraise to  
all daunsynge as some men do suppose. And  
that for two causes. First in this comparison  
he preferreth not befoze daunsing, or ioyne-  
therto any vicious exercise, but annexeth it  
with tylling and dygging of the earth, whi-  
che be labours incident to mans iuyng, and  
in them is conteyned nothinge that is vici-  
ous. wherfoze the preeminence therof aboue  
daunsyng, qualifinge the offence, they bee-  
ing done out of due time, that is to saye in *Sextorius.*  
an holy day, concludeth not daunsing to bee  
at al times and in euery manner vnlawful or  
vicious, consyderinge that in certeine cases  
of extreme necessitie, menne oughte bothe  
plough and delue, without doing to god any  
offence. Also it shall seeme to them, that se-  
riously do examine the said wordes, that ther-  
in Saint Augustine doth not prohibite dan-  
singe so generallye, as it is taken, but onely  
such daunces, whiche (as I late saide) were  
superstitious, & contained in them a spyce of  
idolatrie, or els did with vncleane motions  
or countenaunces, irritate the minde of the  
dauncers to vnnaturall lustes. wherby for-  
nication and aduoutry were daily increased.  
Also in those daunces were enterlaced ditties  
of wanton loue or ribaudye, with frequent  
remembrance of the most vile ydols, Venus  
and Bacchus, as it were that the dance were  
to their honour and memozye, whiche most  
of all abhorred from Christes religion, sauo-  
ring

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tyng of the auncient error of paganisme.

I would to God those names were not at this daye vsed in balades and ditties, in the courtes of princes and noble men, wher many good wittes be corrupted with semblable fantasies, whiche in better wise employed might haue bene moze necessary to the publyke weale and their princes honour. But nowe will I leaue this serious matter to diuines, to perswade or dissuade herein according to their offices. And since in myne opinion Saint Augustine, that blessed clerk reprooueth not so generally all daunsinge, but that I may lawfully reherse some kind thereof, whiche may bee necessarye, and also commendable, taking it for an exercise: I shall nowe proceede to speake of the fyrst beginning thereof, and in how great estimation it was had in dyuers regions.

Of the first beginning of daunsinge, and the olde estimation thereof. Cap.xx.

Here bee sundrye opinions of the original beginning of dauncyng. The poetes doe sayne, that when Saturne, whiche deuoured diuers his children, and semblably woulde haue doone by Iupiter, Rhea the mother of Iupiter, deuised, that Curetes, whiche were men of armes in that countrey, shoulde daunce in armour, playing with their swoordes and shields, in suche

fourme

Curetes.



forme as by that newe and pleasaunt deuise,  
 they shold asswage the melācholy of Saturn;  
 and in the meane time, Iupiter was conuey=  
 ed into Phrygia, where Saturne also pur=  
 suing him, Rhea semblablye taught the peo=  
 ple there called Coribantes, to daunce in an=  
 nother fourme: wherewith Saturne was eft  
 soones demulced and appaysed. which fable  
 hath a resemblance to the history of the bible  
 in the fyyst booke of kinges, where it is re=  
 membred, that Saule, whom God chose from  
 a keper of asses, to be king of Iewes (who  
 in stature excelled, and was aboue all other  
 men by the head) declyning from the lawes  
 and pzeceptes of God, was possessed of an  
 euill spyryte, whych oftentimes tormented  
 and vexed him: and other remedy found hee  
 none, but that Dauid, which after him was  
 kinge, being at that time a proper chylde,  
 and playng swetely on a harpe, with his ple=  
 sant and perfect harmonye, duced his minde  
 into his pristinate estate: and duryng the  
 tyme that he played, the spirite celled to vex  
 him: whiche I suppose, happened not only of  
 the efficacie of musicke (albeit therein is mu=  
 che power, aswell in repressing as excoytinge  
 naturall affectes) but also of the vertue in=  
 generate in the childe Dauid, that playde,  
 whom God also had predestinate to be a gret  
 kyng, and a greate prophete. And for the so=  
 ueraigne giffes of grace and of nature, that  
 he was endowed with, almightie God saide

Coribantes

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of him, that he had founde a man after his heart and pleasure. But nowe to returne to speake of dauncing.

Porteus.

Some interpzetours of poetes do imagin that Proteus, who is supposed to haue turned him selfe into figures, as sometime to shewe himselfe like a serpent, sometime lyke a Lyon, otherwhyles lyke a water, an other time lyke the flame of fyre: sygnifieth to bee none other, but a dalyer and craftie dancer, whiche in his daunce coulde imagine the inflexions of the serpent, the soft and delectable flowing of the water, the swiftenesse and mounting of the fire, the fierse rage of the lyon, the violence and furie of the Leoparde.

whiche exposition is not to be dyspraised, since it disoordeth not from reason. But one opinion there is, which I will reherse, moze for the mery fantasie, that therein is contained then for any faith or credite that is to be giuen thereto.

Gelo the  
king of  
Sicile.

Duer Siraculis (a greate and aunyciente citie in Sicile) there reygned a cruell tyzant called Gelo, whiche by horrible tyzannyes and oppzessions, bzoughte himselfe into the hatred of all his people, whiche hee perceyuing, least by mutuall communication, they shoulde conspyze against him any rebellyon, he prohibited al men vnder terrible menaces that no man or woman shoulde speake vnto an other, but in steede of wordes they should vse in their necessary affayzes, countenanc-

ces

tes, tokens, and mouinges, wyth their feete, handes, and eyen, whiche for necessitie fyrste vsed, at the laste grewe to a perfect and delectable daunsinge. And Gelo, not withstandinge his folythe curiositie, at the laste was slayne of his people mooste myserablye. But althoughe this historie were true, yet was not daunsinge at this time first begon, for Orpheus and Museus, the most auncient, of Poetes, and also Homer, whych were long afore Gelo, doe make mention of daunsing. And in Delus, whiche was the mooste auncient temple of Apollo, no solemnity was done without daunsing.

Also in Indie, where the people honoureth the Sun, they assemble together, & when the Sunne first appeareth, they all in a daunce they salute him, supposing that for as much as he moueth without sensible noyse, it pleaseth him best to be lykewise saluted, that is to say with a pleasant mocion and science.

The interpreters of Plato doe thynke, that the wonderfull and incomprehensible order of the celestiall bodyes, I meane starres and planettes, and their mocions harmony-call, gaue to them, that intently, and by the deepe search of reason beholde their courses, in the sundrye diuersities of number & time, a forme of imitation of a semblable mocion which they called daunsing. wherefore the more nere they approached to that temperance, and subtile modulation, of the sayde supe-



## The Governour.

riour bodics, the more perfect and commendable is their dauncing: which is most lyke to the troth of anye opinion that I haue hereto founden.

Other fables there bee, which I omit for this present time: And now I will expresse in what estimation dauncing was had in the auncient time, & also sundry formes of dauncing, not all, but such as had in them a semblance of vertue or cunning.

Archa federts,

king David dauncing or penlie,

When the arke of God (where in was put the tables of the commandments, the yeard, where-with Moses deuided the red Sea, and did the miracles in the presence of Pharao, king of Aegypt: also a part of Manna; where-with the children of Israel were fedde fortye yerces in desert) was recovered of the Philistines, & brought vnto the Citie of Gaba, the holye king, David, wearing on him a linnen surplesse daunced before the sayd arke, following him a great number of instruments of musick: wher-at his wife Michol, the daughter of king Saul, disdayned and scorned him, where-with (as holye Scripture sayth) almighty God was much displeased. And David not ceasing, daused ioyously through the citie, in that manner honouring that solempne feast, which among the Iewes was one of the chiefe and principall, where with God was more pleased, then with all the other obseruaunces that then were done vnto him at that time.

I will not trouble the readers with the innumerable Ceremonies of the Gentiles, which were comprehended in dauncings, since they ought to be numbroed among superstitions. But I will declare, how wise men and valyant Captaines embraced dauncing for a souereigne and profitable exercise.

Licurgus, that gaue first lawes to the Lacedemonians (a people in Greece) ordeyned that the chyliden there shoulde be taught as diligently to daunce in armour, as to fight. And that in time of wars they should moue them in battayle agayne their enimyes, in forme and manner of dauncing.

Semblablye, the olde inhabitauns of Aethiopia, at the ioyning of their battailes, and when the trumpettes and other instruments sounded, they daunce: & in steede of a quier, they haue their dartes set about their heads, lyke to rayes or beames of the sunne, wherewith they beleeue, that they put their enimyes in feare.

Also it was not lawfull for any of them to cast any dart at his enimie but daunsing. And not only this rude people esteemed so much daunsing, but also the most noble of y grecks, whiche for their excellency in prowesse and wisdom, were called halfe goddes, as Achilles, and his sonne Pirthus, and dyuers other. wherefore Homer, among the high benefites that God gyueth to man, recytech daunsing. For hee saith in the first booke of Iliados,

I. ij.

God

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God graūteth to some mā prowesse martial:  
To another daūsing, with song harmonical.

Suppose ye that the Romaines whiche in grauitie of manners passed the Greekes, had not great pleasure in daūsing: Did not Romulus, the first kyng of Romaines, and buider of the citie of Rome, ordeyne certein priestes and Ministers to the God Mars, whom he aduanced to be his father: which priestes, for as muche as certeine tymes, they daūsed aboute the citie with targetes that they imagined to fall from heauen, were called in Latin Salii, whych into Englyshe may be translated daūsers, who continued so long time in reuerence among the Romaines that vnto the time that they were chzistened the noble men and princes childzen there vsing much diligence and suite, coueted to be of the colledge of the said daūsers.

Moreouer, the Emperours, that were most noble, delighted in daūsing, perceiuing therein to be a perfecte measure whiche may be called Modulation: wherein some daūsers of old time so wonderfully excelled, that they woulde plainely expresse in daūsing, without any wordes or dytie, histories with the whole circumstance of affayres in them conteyned, wherof I shall reherse two meruailouse experience.

At Rome, in the time of Nero, there was a philosopher called Demetrius, whiche was  
of



of that sect, that forasmuch as they abandoned all shamefastnes in their words and acts they were called Cinici, in English doggish. This Demetrius often reproving dauncing, would say that there was nothing there in of any importaunce, and that it was none other, but a counterfayting with the feete and hands, of the harmonie that was shewed before in the rebecke, shalme and other instrument, and that the motions were but bayne and seperate from all vnderstanding, and of no purpose or efficacie.

Where-off hearing a famous dauncer, and one as it seemed that was not without good learning: and had in remembrance many histories, he came to Demetrius, and sayd vnto him: Sir I humbly desire you, refuse not to doe me that honestie with your presence, in beholding me daunce, which ye shall see me do without sound of any instrument. And then if it shal seeme to you worthy dispraise, vtterly banish and confound my science.

Wher-vnto Demetrius graunted. The young man dauced the aduoutry of Mars & Venus, and ther-in expressed how Vulcan husband to Venus, theroff being aduertised by the Sun, layd snares for his wife and Mars: also how they were wounden and tied in Vulcans net: More-over, how all the Gods came to the spectacle: Finally how Venus all ashamed and blushing, fearfullie desired hir louer Mars to deliuer hir from that perill, and the

## The Gouvernour.

residue contained in the fable : which hee did with so subtile and craftie gesture, with such a playne declaration of euery act in the matter (which of all thing is most difficile) with such a grace and beautie, also with a witte so wonderfull and pleasaunt, that Demetrius as it seemed ther-at reioycing and delyghting, cryed with a loude voyce : O man I do not only see, but also heare what thou dost: And it seemeth also to mee, that with the handes thou speakest. which saying was confirmed by all them that were at that time present.

The same young man sounge & daunced on a time befoze the Emperour Nero, whē ther was also present a straunge king, which vnderstood none other language but of his own countrey: yet notwithstanding the man daunced so aptly & playnly, as his custome was, that the straunge king, although he perceined not what he sayd, vnderstoode euery deale of the matter. And when he had takē his leaue of the Emperour to departe, the Emperour offered to giue him anye thing & he thought might be to his commoditie, ye maye (sayde the king bounteously reward me, if ye lende me the young man that daunced befoze your maiestie, Nero wondzing, and requiringe of him, why hee so importunatelpe desired the dauncer, oz what commoditie the dauncer might bee vnto him. Sir sayde the king, I haue diuers confines and neighbours that be of sundry languages and manners, wherefore

foze I haue oftentimes neede of many interpretours. wherefoze if I had this man with me, and shoulde haue anye thing to doe with my neighbours, he would so with his fashion and gesture expresse euerye thing to mee, and teache them to doe the same, that from hence-foorth I should not haue neede of any interpretour.

Also the auncient philosophers commended dauncing: insomuche, as Socrates, the wisest of all the Greekes in his time, & from whome, all the sectes of Philosophers, as from a fountaine were deriued, was not ashamed to account dauncing among the serious disciplines, for the commendable beutie, for the apte and proportionate mouing, and for the craftie disposition and fashioning of the body.

It is to be considered, that in the said auncient time, there were diuers manners of dauncing, which varied in the names, likewise as they did in tunes of the instrument, as feblably we haue at this day. But those names, some were generall, some were speciall, the generall names, were giuen of the vniuersall forme of dauncing, where by was represented the qualtyes or conditions of sundry estates: as the maiestie of Princes was shewed in y<sup>e</sup> daunce, which was named Eumelia, & belonged to Tragedies: dissolute motions, and wanton countenauces, in that which was called Cordax, and pertained to

I. iij.

Co-



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**Comedies** : where in men of base behaviour only daunced. Also the foyme of battaile and fighting in armour, was expressed in those daunces, which were called Enoplie. Also there was a kinde of dauncinge called Hor-mus, of all the other most lyke to that, which is at this time vsed, where-in daunced young men and maydens: the man expressing in his motion and countenaunce, strength and courage apt for the warres: the mayden, moderation and shamefastnesse, which represented a pleasaunt coniunction of fortitude and temperaunce.

In steede of these we haue now base daunces, bargetnettes, paupons, turgpons, and roundes. And as for the special names, they wer taken as they be now, either of y names of the first inuentours: or of the measure & number that they do containe: or of the first words of the dittie, which the song comprehendeth, wher-off the daunce was made. In euery of the sayd daunces, there was a continuitie, of mouing the foote and body, expressing some pleasaunt or profitable affects or motions of the minde.

Heere a man may behold what craft was in the auncient time in dauncinge, which at this daye no man can imagine or coniecture. But if men would now apply the first part of their youth, that is to say, frō seuen yeres to twenty, effectually in the sciences liberall, and knowledge of histories, they shoulde re-  
uiue

take the auncient forme, as wel of dauncing, as of other exercises. where-off they might take not onely pleasure, but also profite and commoditie.

Wherefore in the good order of dauncing, a man and woman daunceth together. Cap. 21.

It is diligently to be noted, that the company of man and woman in dauncing, they both obseruing one number & time in their mouings, was not begun without a speciall consideration, as well for the coniunction of those two personnes, as for the imitation of sundry vertues which be by them represented.

And forasmuche as by the ioyning of a man and woman in dauncing may be signified matrimony, I could in declaring the dignitie & commoditie of that sacrament, make intiere volumes, if it were not so commonly knowen to al men, that almost euery freer limitour carpeth it written in his bosome. Wherefore least in repeating a thing so frequent and common, my booke should be as fastidious or fulsome to the readers, as such marchaunt preachers be now to their customers, I wil reuerently take my leaue of diuines. And for my part, I will endeauour my selfe, to assemble out of y<sup>e</sup> bookes of auncient poets and philosophers matter as well

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appt to my purpose, as also newe, or at the least-wise infrequente or seldome hearde of them that haue not read very many authoꝝ in Greeke and Latine.

But now to my purpose. In euery daunce of a most auncient custome, ther daunceth together a man & a woman, holding each other by the hand or by y arme, which betokeneth concord. Now it behoueth the dauncers, and also the beholders of them, to know al qualities incident to a man, and also al quahties to a woman like wise appertaining.

A mans  
Qualyties.

A man in his natural perfection is fierce, hardie, strong in opinion, couetous of gloꝝy, desirous of knowledge, appetiting by generation to bring forth his semblable. The good nature of a woman, is to bee milde, timorous, tractable, benigne, of sure remembrance, & shamefast. Diuers other qualities of each of the might be found out: but these be most apparant, & for this time sufficient.

Wherefoze when we beholde a man and a woman dauncing together, lette vs suppose there to be a concord of all the sayd qualities being ioyned together, as I haue sette them in order, and the mouing of the man wold be moze vehement, of the woman moze delicate, and with lesse aduaucing of the body, signifying the courage and strengthe that oughte to be in a man, and the pleasaunt sobernesse that should be in a woman. And in this wise fiercenes, ioyned with Mildenes, maketh  
Seueris



Seueritie: Hardinesse with Timorositie, maketh Magnanimitie, & is to say, valyant courage, wilful opinion and Tractabilitie (which is to be shortly perswaded and moued) maketh Constance a vertue: Couetise of glorie, adozned with benignitie causeth honour: Desire of knowledge with sure remembrance, procureth Sapience; Shamefastnes ioyned to appetite of generation maketh Continence: which is a meane between chasticitie and inordinate lust. These qualtyties in this wise being knit together, and signified in the personages of man & woman dauncing, do expresse or set out the figure of very nobilitytie: which in the higher estate it is contained, the more excellent is the vertue in estimation.

How dauncing may be an introduction vnto the first morall vertue called  
Prudence. Cap. 22.

**A**S I haue alredy affirmed, the principall cause of this my lyttle enterprise, is to declare an Induction or mean, how childezen of gentle nature or disposition may be trayned into the waye of vertue with a pleasant facilitie. And forasmuch as it is very expedient, that there be mixt with studye, some honest and moderate disport, or at the least way recreation, to recomfort and quicken the vitall spirites, least they

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they long trauaplyng oz being much occupi-  
ed in contēplation oz remembrance of things  
graue and serious, might happen to bee fati-  
gate oz perchaunce oppressed. And therfoze  
Tully, who bneth euer found anye time va-  
cant from study, permitteth in his first boke  
of offices, that men may vse play and disport:  
yet notwithstanding in such wise as they do  
vse sleepe and other manner of quyet, when  
they haue sufficiently disposed earnest mat-  
ters and of waightie importaunce.

Nowe bicause there is no pastime to bee  
compared to that, where-in may bee founden  
both recreation and meditation of vertue: I  
haue among all honest pastimes where-in is  
exercise of the body, noted dauncing to be of  
an excellent vtilitie, comprehēding in it wō-  
derfull figures (whiche the Greekes doe call  
Idea) of vertues and noble qualities, and spe-  
cially of the commodious vertue called pru-  
dence, whom Tully defineth to be the know-  
ledge of thinges, which ought to bee desired  
and followed: and also of them which ought  
to be fled from oz eschewed. And it is named  
of Aristotle the Mother of vertues, of other  
Philosophers it is called & capitayn oz mai-  
stres of vertues of some the huswife: foras-  
much as by hir dilygēce she doth inuestigate  
& prepare places apt and conuenient, where  
other vertues shall execute their powers oz  
offices.

Wherfoze as Salomon sayth : Lyke as in  
water

Ci.offic.  
lib.2.  
Prudence.

water be shewed the visages of the & behold it, so vnto men that be prudent, & secretes of mens harts be openly discovered. This vertue being so commodious to man, and as it were the porche of the noble palaice of mans Reason, wherby al other vertues shal enter, it semeth to me right expedient, that as sone as oportunitie may be founden, a chyld or young man be thereto induced. And because that the Gude of vertue is tedious for the more parte to them that do flourish in young yeares, I haue deuysed, how in the forme of daunsing nowe late vsed in this Realme among Gentlemen, the whole discription of this vertue prudence may be founden out & well perceiued, as wel by the dauncers, as by them whiche standing by, will bee diligent beholders and markers, hating fyrst myne instruction surely grauen in y table of their remembrance. wherefoze all they that haue their courage stirred towarde very honoure or perfect nobilitie, let them appoche to this pastime, and either themselves prepare them to daunce, or els at the least way behold with watching eyeen, other that can daunce truly, keeping iust measure and time. But to the vnderstanding of this instruction, they must marke well the sundrye motions and measures, which in true forme of daunsing is to be specially obserued.

The first mouing in enery dawninge is called honour, whiche is a reuerent inclination



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Or curtesie, with a long deliberation or pause and is but one motion, comprehendinge the time of three other motions or setting forth of the foote: By that may be signified, that at the beginning of all our acts, we should do due honour to god, which is the root of prudence, which honour is compact of these three things, feare, loue and reuerence. And that in the beginning of all things, we should aduisedly, with some tract of time, beholde and foresee the successe of our enterprise.

Celerity or  
quickness &  
swiftnesse.

A braule,

By the seconde motion, which is two in number, may be signified celeritie and slownesse: which two, albeit they seeme to discord in their effectes and natural properties, therefore they may be well resembled to the braule in daunsing (for in our english tongue we say, men do braule, when betweene them is alteration in words) yet of the two springeth an excellent vertue, wherunto we lacke a name in english, wherefore I am constrained to vsurpe a latine word calling it Maturitie. which word though it be straunge and darke, yet by declaring the vertue in a few more words, the name once brought in custome, shalbe as easie to vnderstand as other words late comen out of Italy and Fraunce, & made denizens among vs.

Maturitie.

Maturitie is a meane betweene two extremities, wherin nothing lacketh, or exceedeth, and is in such estate, that it may neither increase nor minishe without losing the denomination.

nomination of Maturitie. The greckes in a  
prouerb do expresse it properly in two words,  
which I can none otherwise interpret in en-  
lish, But speede the slowly.

Also of this worde Maturitie, spring a  
noble and precious sentence, recited by Sa-  
lust in the battaile against Catiline, whiche  
is in this maner or like: Consult before thou  
enterprise any thing, and after thou hast ta-  
ken counsaile, it is expedient to do it maturely.  
Maturum, in latine, may be interpreted ripe  
or redy, as fruite when it is ripe, it is at the  
very pointe to be gathered and eaten. And e-  
uery other thing, when it is ready, it is at  
instant after to be occupied. Therefore that  
worde Maturitie, is translated to the acts of  
man, that when they be done with such mo-  
deration, that nothing in the doing may bee  
scene superfluous or indigent, we may saye  
that they be maturely done, reseruinge the  
words ripe and redy, to fruit & other things  
separate from affaires, as we haue now in vs-  
sage. And this do I nowe remember for the  
necessary augmentation of our language.

*Festina lente  
Prisquam  
incipias co-  
sulto maturo  
rum.*

In the excellent and most noble Emperour  
Octavius. Augustus, in whome reigned all  
nobilitie, nothing is more commended, then  
he had frequently in his mouth this worde  
Matura, doe maturely. As hee should haue  
said, do neither to much nor to little, to soone  
ne to late, to swiftly nor to slowly, but all due  
time and measure.

*How*

## The Gouvernour.

Now I trust I haue sufficiently expounded the vertue called Maturitie, which is the meane or mediocritie betwene slouth and celeritie, commonly called speedines, and so haue I declared, what vtilitie may be taken of a braule in daunsing.

The thirde and fourth braunches  
of prudence. Cap. 24.

Singles in  
daunsing.

**T**he third motion called singles, is of two vnities seperate in pasinge forward: by whome may bee signified prouidence and industry, whiche after euery thing maturelye archtured, as is before writtten maketh the first pace forward in daunsing. But it shalbe expedient to expound what is the thing called Prouidence, for as much as it is not knowne to euery man.

Prouidence  
what it is.

Considera-  
tion what it  
is.

Prouidence, is whereby a man not onely foreseeeth commoditie and incommoditie, prosperitie and aduersitie, but also consulteth, and therewith endenoureth as well to repell annoyance, as to attaine and get profite and aduantage. And the difference betweene it and consideration is, that consideration onely consisteth in pondering and examyninge thinges, conceived in the minde: Prouidence in heaping them with counsaile and acte. Wherefore to consideration pertaineth excogitation, and aduiseement, to prouidence, prouision and execution. For like as the good  
hus-



husbande, when he hath sown his grounde, setteth by cloughtes or thredes, which some call shayles, some blenchars, or other like shewes, to feare away birdes, which he foreseeeth readye to deuoure and hurt his corne, also perceyuing the improfitable weedes appearing, which wil annoy his corne or herbes, forth-with weedeth them cleane out of his grounde, and wyl not suffer them to growe or increase. Semblably it is the parte of a wise man, to foresee and prouide, that cyther in such thinges, as he hath acquired by his study or diligence, or in such affayres as he hath in hande, hee be not endamaged or empeched by his aduersaries.

In like manner a gouernour of a publike weale ought to prouide, as well by menaces, as by sharpe and terryble punishmentes, that persons euill and vnprofitable, do not corrupt and deuoure his good subiectes.

Finallye there is in prouidence such an admiration and maiestie, that not onely it is attributed to kynges and rulers, but also to God, creatour of the worlde.

Industry hath not bene so long time bled in the englysh tongue, as Prouidence: wherefore it is the more straung, and requireth the more plaine exposition. It is a qualitie, proceeding of witte and experience, by the which a manne perceyueth quickely, inuenteth freshelpe, and counsaileth speedily: wherefore they that be called Industrious, doo molle  
Industrie.  
I. i.                      craftely

## The Gouvernour

craftely and decpely vnderstande in all affaires, what is expedient, and by what meanes and wayes, they may soonest exployte them. And those thinges, in whome other men traualle, a person industrious lightely and with facilitie spedeth, and findeth new waies and meanes to bring to effect that he desireth.

Alcibiades.

Amonge diuers other remembred in Hystories, such one among the Greekes, was Alcibiades, whose beyng in chyldehoodde moste amiable of all other, and of moste subtyle wytte, was instructed by Socrates. He sayde Alcibiades, by the sharpenesse of his witte, the doctrine of Socrates, and by his own experience in sundry affayres in the common weale of the Athenienses, became so industrious, that were it good or euill that he enterprysed, nothing almost escaped that he achieved not, were the thing neuer so difficile (or as who saith) impenetrable: and that manye sundry thinges, as well for his countrey, as also agayne it, after that hee for his inordinate pride and lechery, was out of Athens exiled.

Hel. Caesar.

Amonge the Romaines, Caius Iulius Caesar, which first tooke vpon him the perpetual rule and gouernance of the Empire, is a noble example of industry, for in his incomparable warres, and busines almost incredible, he did not only excogitate most excellent policies and deuices, to vanquish or subdue his enimies, but also prosecuted them with  
such

suche celerity and effecte , that diuers and manye tymes hee was in the campe of his enimyes , oz at the gates of theyr townes, oz fortresses, when they supposed, that he & his hoste had ben two dayes iourney frō thence, leauing to them no tyme oz leysure , to consult oz pzeare again him sufficiēt resistance. And ouer that, this qualitie, Industry, so reigned in him, that he him self would minister to his secretaries at one tyme & instante, the contentes of thzee sundry cpystles oz letters. Also it is a thing wonderfull to remember, that he being a pzince of the mooste auncient and noble house of the Romaines , and from the tyme that hee came to mans estate , almost continually in warres, also of glozy insatiable, of courage inuincible, could in affaires of such importaince and difficultie , oz (whiche is muche moze to bee meruayled at now ) woulde so exactly wyte the History of his owne acts and gestes: that for the nature & infinitable eloquence, in expzessing the counsailes, deuices, conuēcions, progressiōs, interprizes, exploytures, fourmes, & facions of imbatayling, he seemeth to put all other wyters of like matters to sylence.

Here is the perfecte paterne of industrie, which I trust shall suffice to make the proper signification ther-of, to be vnderstand of the readers. And cōsequently to incense them to appoche to the true practising there-of.

So is the sengles decalred in these two

¶.¶.

qua



## The Gouvernour

qualities, Prouidence and Industry, which seriously noted, and often remembred of the dauncers and beholders, shal acquire to them no little fruite and commoditie, if there be in their mindes anye good and laudable matter for vertue to worke in.

¶ Of the fift braunch, called Circumspecti-  
on, shewed in reprinse. Cap. 23.

Reprynse  
in daunsing

**C**ommonly next after singles in daun-  
cing is a reprynse, whiche is one mo-  
uing onelye, puttyng backe the right  
foote to his felowe: And that maye be  
well called circumspectiō, which signifieth as  
muche, as beholding on euery parte, what is  
well and sufficient, what lacketh, how, & frō  
whence it may be prouided: Also what hath  
caused profite or damage in the tyme passed,  
what is the estate of the time present, what  
aduantage or peril may succede, or is immi-  
nent. And bicause in it is cōteined a delibera-  
cion in hauing regard to that that foloweth,  
and is also of affinitie with prouidence and  
industrie, I make him in the forme of a re-  
treat. In this mocion a man may, as it were  
on a mountaine or a place of espyall, beholde  
on euery side farre of, measuring and esteem-  
ing euery thing: and cyther pursewe it, if  
it be commendable, or eschew it, if it be noy-  
full. This qualitie (lyke as prouidence and  
industrie be) is a branch of prudence, whiche  
some

some call the **Princesse of vertues**: and it is not only expedient, but also needful to euery estate and degree of men, that doe continue in the lyfe called actiue.

In the Iliados of Homere, the noble Nestor. duke Nestor, a man of meruailous eloquence and longe experience, as he that lyued threemens liues as he ther aduanteth, in y counsaile that he gaue to Agamemnon, to reconcile to him Achilles the most strong and valiant man of al the Greeks, he perswaded Agamemnon, specially to be circūspect, declaring, howe that the priuate contention between them, should replenish the hoast of the Greekes with much dolour: where at king Priamus and his childzen should laugh, and the residue of the Troyanes in their mindes should reioyce and take courage.

Amonge the Romaines, Quintus Fabius Fabius. for this qualytic is souereignely extolled among historians: and for that cause hee is oftentimes called of them, Fabius Cunctator, that is to say, the tarier & delaier. For in the warres betweene the Romaines and Annibal, he knowing al coastes of the countrey, continually kept him and his host on mountaynes and hyghe places, with-in a smal distaunce of Anniballs armye: so that neither he wold flye from his enemies, nor yet ioyne with them battaile. By which wonderfull polycie, he caused Annibal so to trauaile, that some time for lacke of vittayle, and for wea-

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rinesse great multitudes of his hoaste perished. Also he often-times awayed them in dangerous places, vnready, and then skirmished with them, as long as he was sure to haue of them aduantage, & after he repaired to the high places adioyning, vsing his accustomed manner, to beholde the passage of Annibal. And by this meanes, this most circumspect Capitaine Fabius, wonderfully imfebled the power of the sayd Annibal, which is no lesse esteemed in praise, then the subduing of Carthage by the valyant Scipio. For if Fabius, had not so fatigate Annibal and his hoast, he had shortly subuerted the Citie of Rome, & then could not Scipio haue bene able to atchieue that enterprize.

King Henry the, vii.

What more cleare myrrour or spectacle can we desire of circumspection, then king Henry the seauenth, of most noble memoire, father vnto our most dreadde souereigne lord, whose worthy renome lyke the sunne in the middes of his sphere, shineth and euer shall shine in mens remembraunce: what incomparable circumspection was in him alway founden, that notwithstanding his long absence out of this realme, the disturbance of & same by sundry seditions among the Nobilitie, ciuile warres and battayles, where in infinite people were slayne, beside skirmishes and slaughters in the priuate contentions & factions of diuers gentlemen, the lawes layd in water (as is the proverbe) affection, & auarice,



rice, subduing Iustice and equitie: yet by his most excellent wit, he in few yeares, not only brought this realme in good order, and vnder due obedience, reuiued the lawes, aduanced Iustice, refurnished his dominions, and repayzed his manours: but also with such circumspection treated with other Princes, and realmes, of leagues, of alpace, and amities, that during the moze part of his reigne hee was lyttle or nothings inqueyted with warre, hostilitie, or martial busines. And yet all other Princes either feared him, or had him in a fatherly reuerence. whiche prayse with the honour ther-vnto due, as inheritance discendeth by righte vnto his moste noble sonne, our most deere souereigne Lord that now presently reigneth. For as Tully sayth: The best inheritance, that the fathers leaue to their childzen, excelleng al other patrimony, is the gloze or praise of vertue and noble actes: & of such faire inheritance his highnes may compare with any Prince that euer reigned, which he daily augmenteth, adding ther-to other sundry vertues, which I forbear now to reherse, to the intent I will exclude all suspition of flattery, since, I my self in this work do specially rezone it. But that which is presently known, and is in experience needeth no monument. And vnto so excellent a Prince, ther shal not lack heerafter condigne Writers, to register his actes, with eloquent stile in perpetual remembrance.

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Of the sixt, seauenth, and eight braunches  
of Prudence. Cap. 25.

**A** Double in dauncing, is compacte of  
the number of thzee, wherby may be  
noted these thzee braunches of pru-  
dence, election, experiēce, & modestie,  
by them the sayd vertue of prudence is made  
complete, & is in hir perfection. Election is  
of an excellent power and authoritie, & hath  
such a maiestie, that shee will not bee appro-  
ched vnto of euery man. For some there be  
to whome shee denyeth hir presence, as chil-  
dzen, naturall fooles, men beeing frantpke,  
or subdued with affectes, also they that bee  
subiectes to flatterers and proude men. In  
these persons reason lacketh lybertie, which  
should prepare their entrie vnto election.

Election.

Opportuni-  
tie.

This election, which is part, and as it were  
a member of Prudence, is best described by  
Opportunitie, which is the principall parte  
of counsaile, and is compact of these things  
following.

The importaunce of the thing consulted.  
The facultie and power of him that consul-  
teth. The time when. The forme how. The  
substance wherwith to doe it. The dispositiō  
and vsages of the countreis. For whom and  
against whom it ought to be done. All these  
thinges prepensed and gathered together  
seriously, and after a due examination, eue-  
ry of them iustly pondered in the balaunce of  
reason,

reason. Immediately commeth the authoritie  
of election, who taketh on hir to appoynte,  
what is to be effectually folowed or pursued,  
reiecting the residue, and then ought Expe-  
rience to be at hande, to whom is committed  
the actuall execution. For without hir Elec-  
tion is frustrate, and all inuention of man is  
but a fantasie. And therefore who aduised-  
ly beholdeth the estate of mans lyfe, shal wel  
perceiue that all that euer was spoken or  
written was to be executed, & to that intent  
was speach specially giuen to man, where-in  
hee is most discrepant from brute beastes,  
in declaring by them what is good, what  
vicious, what is profitable, what impro-  
fitable, which by cleerenesse of wit do excell,  
in knowledge to these that be of a moze infe-  
riour capacitie. And what vtilytie should be  
acquired by suche declaration, it shoulde not  
be experienced with diligence:

Experiēce  
or executi-  
on.

The Philosopher Socrates had not ben na-  
med of Apollo the wisest man of al Grecia, if  
he had not dayly practised & vertues, which  
he in his lessons commended.

Socrates.

Iulius Cæsar the first Emperour, although  
there were in him much hidde learning, in-  
somuche as he first founde the order of our  
Kalender, with & Cikle & Bisexte, alled the  
leape yeare: Yet is he not so much honoured  
for his learning, as hee is for his dilygence,  
wherewith he exploited and brought to con-  
clusion those counsailes, which as wel by his

I. Cæsar.

l. v.

excl=



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excellent learning and wisdom, as by the advice of other expert counsaillors were before treated, and (as I mought say) ventilate.

Who will not repute it a thinge vaine and scozefull, & moze lyke to a May game, then a matter serious or commendable, to behold a personage, which in speach or wyting, expresseth nothing but vertuous maners, sage and discrete counsailes, and holy aduertisements: to bee resolved into all vices, following in his actes nothings, that hee himselfe in his words approueth and teacheth to other?

Who shal any thing esteeme their wisdom, which with great studies finde out remedies and prouisions necessary for things disordered or abused? & wher they them-selues may execute it, they leaue it vntouched, where-by their deuices with the sown that pronounced them, be vanished and come to nothing?

Senibly it is to be thought in al other doctrine. Wherefore as it seemed, it was not without consideration affyrmed by Tully, that the knowledge & contemplation of Natures operations, were lame and in a maner imperfect, if there followed none actuall experience. Of this shall be moze spoken in the latter ende of this worke.

Modestie.

Offi. I.

Heer-with would be conieyned, or rather mixt with it, y<sup>e</sup> bertue called modestie: which by Tully is defined to bee the knowledge of Oppoztunitie of things to be done or spoken

in

in appointing & setting them in time or place to them conuenient and proper.

Wherfoze it semeth to be much like to that which men commonly call discretion. Albeit Discretio in Latine, signifieth Separation: wherin it is moze lyke to Election. But as it is cōmonly vsed, it is not only lyke to modestie, but it is the selfe Modestie. For hee that forbeareth to speak, although he can do it both wisely and eloquently, because neither in the time, nor in the hearers, he findeth oportunitie, so that no fruite may succcede of his speach, he therfoze is bulgarly called a discrete person.

Discretion

Semblably they name him discrete, that punisheth an offendour lesse then his merits do require, hauing regarde to the weaknesse of his person, or to the aptnesse of his amendment.

Discrete

So do they in the vertue called Liberalitie, where in giuing is hadde consideration, as well of the condition and necessitie of the person that receiueth, as of the benefite that commeth of the gyfte receiued. In euery of these thinges, and their semblable, is Modestie: whiche woorde not beeing known in the Englysh tongue, neither of al the which vnderstoode Latine, excepte they had red good authours, they improperly named this vertue discretion. And now some men do as much abuse the word Modestie, as the other did discretion. For if a man haue a sad

Liberality

Modestie  
abused.

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Mansuetude

countenance of al times, & yet not being moored with wꝛath, but paciēt, & of most gentleness, they which wold be sene to be lerned, wil say that þ man is of a great modestie, where they shold rather say, that he wer of a great mansuetude : which terme being semblablye befoze this time vnknownen in our tongue, may be by the suffraunce of wise men, nowe receiued by custome, whereby the terme shal be made familiar. That like as the Romaines translated the wisdomes of Grecia into their citie, we maye, if we list bzing the learnings and wisdomes of them both into this realme of England, by þ translation of their woꝝks, since lyke enterpryse hath ben takē by Frēchmen, Italians, & Germanes, to our no little reproch for our neglygence and slouth).

And thus I conclude the last part of dauncing, which dilygently beholden, shal appeare to be as wel a necessary studye, as a noble & vertuous pastime, vsed & continued in suche forme as I hetherto haue declared.

Of other exercise, vvhich if they be moderately vsed, be to euery estate of man expedient. Cap. 26.

Haue shewed how hunting and dauncing may be in the number of cōmendable exercises & pastimes, not repugnant to vertue.

And vndoubtedlye it were much better to bee occupied in honest recreation, then to do nothing



nothyng. For it is sayde of a noble auctour,  
In doing nothing, menne learne to do euill.  
And Ouidius the Poet sayth.

If thou flee Idlenes, Cupid hath no might,  
His bow lyeth broken, his fyre hath no light.

Ouid. de  
remedio  
amoris.

It is not only called Idlenes, wher- in the  
body or minde ceaseth from labour, but spe-  
cially Idlenes is an omission of al honest ex-  
ercise: the other may be better called a vaca-  
tion from serious businesse, which was som-  
tyme embraced of wise men and vertuous.

Idlenesse.

It is wrytten to the praise of Xerxes king  
of Persia, that in tyme vacant from the af-  
fares of his realme, he wpyth his owne han-  
des had planted innumerable trees, which  
longe or hee dyed, brought forth the abundance  
of fruite, and for the craftye and delectable  
order in setting of them, it was to all men,  
beholding the Princes industrie, exceeding  
meruailous.

Kynge  
Exerxes.

But who abhorreth not the Hysto-  
rye of Sardanapalus, King of the same Realme:  
which hauing in detestation all princely af-  
fayres, and leauing all company of men, en-  
closed hym- selfe in a chamber, with a great  
multitude of concubynes: and for that hee  
would seme to be some- time occupye d, or els  
that wanton pleasures and quietnes became  
to him tedious, hee was found by one of hys  
Lords in a womans attyre spinning on a di-  
staf among persons dyfamed, which knowne  
abrode,

Sardanap-  
palus.

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abode, was to the people so odious, that finally by them he was bourned, with all the place, wher to he fled for his refuge

Playing at  
dice.

And I suppose there is not a more playne figure of idlenesse, then playing at dice. For besides, that ther in is no manner of exercise of the body or minde, they which play there-at, must seeme to haue no portion of witte or cannyng, if they will be called fayre players, or in some company auoyde the stabbe of a dagger, if they bee taken with any craftie conueyance. And bicause alway wisdom is ther-in suspected, there is seldom any playing at dice, but ther-at is vehement chydning and brawling, horrible othes, cruell, and sometime mortal menaces. I omit strokes, which nowe and then doe happen, often tymes beewene brethren and most deare friendes, if fortune bring alway to one man euill chaunces, whiche maketh the playe of the other suspected. Why shold that be called a play, which is compacte of malice and robbery? Undoubtedly they that write of the first inuencions of thinges, haue good cause to suppose Lucifer, prince of dyuelles, to be the first inuentour of dice playing, and hell the place where it was founden, although some do write, that it was first inuented by Attalus. For what better allectiue could Lucifer deuise, to allure and bring menne pleasantly into damnable seruitude, then to purpose to them in forme of a play, his principal trespasse  
whereas

The trespasse  
of Lucifer.

wher-in the moze parte of sinne is contained  
and all goodnesse and vertue confounded?

The first occasion to play, is tediousnesse  
of vertuous occupation: Immediately suc-  
ceedeth couetynge of an other mans goodes,  
which they call playing, there-to is annexed  
auarice and straight keeping, which they call  
winning, soone after comineth swearing,  
in renting the members of God, which they  
name noblenesse, (for they will say, hee that  
swareth deepe, swareth like a Lord) then  
foloweth furie or rage, which they call cou-  
rage: among them cometh inordinat watch,  
which they name painfulnes: he bringeth in  
gluttony, and that is good felowshippe: and  
after comineth sleepe superfluous, called as-  
monge them naturall rest: and he som-time  
bringeth in lecherie: whiche is now named  
dalliance. The name of this treasorie is veri-  
ly idlenes, the doze wher-of is left wide open  
to dice players: if they hap to bring in their  
company, lerning, vertuous busines, hybera-  
litie, pacience, charitie, temperance, good diet  
or shamesfastnesse, they must leaue them with-  
out the gates. For euill custome, which is  
the porter, will not suffer them to enter.

Alas what pitie is it, that any chrissten man  
should by wanton company be trayned, I  
will no moze say into this Tresorie, but into  
this lothesome dungeon, where he shall lye  
fetozed in chaynes of ignoraunce, and bound-  
den with the stronge chayne of obstina-  
cy.

Ill custome.



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hard to be losed, but by grace:

The moste noble emperour Octavius Augustus, who hath among wryters in diuers of his acts an honourable remembrance: only for playing at dice, and that but seldom, susteineth in hystories a note of reproche.

Counsellors  
dyers.

The Lacedemonians sent an Ambassade to the Citie of Corinthe, to haue with them aliance: but when the Ambassadors founde the Princes & Counsaylors playing at dice, they departed with-out exploiting their message, saying, that they woulde not maculate the honour of theyr people, with such a reproche, to be sayde, that they had made aliance with dyers.

Also to Demetrius, the King of Parthians, sent golden dice in the rebuke of his lyghtnesse.

The estimation of  
dyers.

Euery thing is to be esteemed after his value. But who hearing a man, whome he knoweth not, to be called a dyer, doeth not anone suppose hym to be of lyght credence, dissolute, vaine, and remysse: who almoste trusteth his brother, whō he knoweth a dice-player: yea amonge them selues they laugh, when they perceiue or heare any doctrine or vertuous worde proceede from any of theyr companions, thinking that it becommeth not his person: much more when hee doth any thing with deuotion or wisdome.

How many gentlemen, how many marchantes, haue in this damnable pastime consumed

summed their substance, as well by their owne labours, as by their parentes, with greate study and painfull trauaile in a long time acquired, and finished their liues in dette and penury? How many goodly and bold yemen hath it brought vnto theft, whereby they haue preuented the course of nature, and dyed by the order of the lawes miserably?

These be the fruites and reuenues of that deuilish merchaundise, beside the synall rewarde, whiche is moze terryble: the reporte wherof I leaue to diuines, such as feare not to shewe their learninges, or fyl not their mouthes so full with sweete meates, or benefices, that their tongues be not let to speake trouth: for that is their duetie and office, excepte I with many other be moze disceiued.

Playinge at cardes and tables is somewhat moze tollerable, onely for as much as therein wytte is moze vled, and lesse trust is in fortune, all be it therin is neither laudable study nor exercise. But yet men delytting in vertue, inight with cardes and tables deuise games, wherein inight bee much solace and also study commodious, & deuising a battaile or contencion betwene vertue and vice, or other lyke pleasaunt and honest inuention.

The chesse of all games, wherein is no bodily exercise, is moste to be commended, for therein is righte subtyl engine, whereby the witte is made moze sharpe, & remembrance quickened. And it is the moze comendable &

also

also

Cardes and  
tables.

Chesse

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also commodious, if the players haue read & moralization of the chesse, & when they playe do think vpon it: which books be in english. But they be verie scarce, bicause fewe men do seeke in playes for vertue or wisdom.

That shooting in a long bowe is principall of all other exercises. Cap. 27.

**T**ully saith in his first booke of offices we be not to that intēt brought by nature, that we should seeme to be made to play and disporte, but rather to grauitie and studies of more estimation. wher it is writtē of Alexander, emperoz of Rome, for his grauitie called Seuerus, that in his childhode, and befoze he was taught & letters of greeke or latine, he neuer exercysed any other play or game, but onely one, wherin was a similitude of iustice: & therfore it was called in latin, Ad Iudices, whiche is in english to & iudges. But & forme therof is not expressed by the saide authoz, nor none other that I haue reade. wherefore I will repaire againe to & residue of honest exercise.

Exercise  
for prefer-  
ring of  
health.

And for as much as Galen in his seconde booke of the preservation of health, declareth to be in them these qualtyties, or dyuersities, that is to say: that some be done with extendinge of mighte, and as it were presently, and that is called balpaunt exercise. Some with swift or hasty motion, other with



with strength and celeritie, and that maye be called beheimente. The particular kinds of euery of them he descriueth, which were to long here to be rcherfed.

But in as much as hee also saith, that hee that is of good estate in his bodye, ought to knowe the power and effecte of euery exercise: but hee needeth not to practife any other, but that which is moderate and meane betweene euery extremitie: I will nowe briezly declare, in what exercise nowe in custom amonge vs, may bee most sounde of that mediocritie, and may bee augmented or minished, at the pleasure of him that doeth exercise, without thereby appayzinge anye parte of delectation or commoditie thereof proceeding.

And in mine opinion, none may bee compared with shooting in the long bowe, & that for sundry vtilities, & come theroff, wherein it in comparably excelleth all other exercise. For in drawing of a bowe, easy and congruent to his strength, he that shooteth, doth moderately exercise hys armes, & the other parte of his body: and if his bowe be bigger, he must adde too more strength wherein is no lesse valiant exercise then in any other, whereof Galen wytyeth.

The comment  
datis of sho  
ting in a  
long bowe

In shooting at buttres, or broade arrowe markes, is a mediocritie of exercise of the lower partes of the bodye and legges, by going a little distaunce a measurable pace. At

L. ij.

rouers

## The Gouvernour.

roners oz pyckes , it is at his pleasure that  
shoteth, howe faste oz softly he listeth to goe,  
and yet is the praise of the shooter, neyther  
more ne lesse, for as farre oz nigh the marke  
is his arrow, whan he goeth softly, as when  
he runneth.

Tenysse.

Tenysse seldome vsed, & for a litle space,  
is a good exercise for younge men , but it is  
more violent than shooting, by reason þ two  
men doe play. wherfoze neither of them is  
at his owne lybertie to measure the exercise.  
For if the one strike the ball harde, the other  
that intendeth to receiue him , is then con-  
strayned to vse semblable vyolence, if he will  
returne the ball from whence it came to him.  
If it tryll fast on the grounde, and he enten-  
deth to stoppe, oz if it rebounde a great dis-  
taunce from him, and he would estsones re-  
turne it, he cannot then keepe any measure in  
swiftnesse of mocion.

Some men would say that in mediocrity,  
which I haue so much praysed in shooting,  
why should not boulynge , claythe pynnes,  
and copting, be as much commended: Veri-  
ly as for two the laste be to be vtterly abie-  
ted of all noble men , in like wise footeball,  
wherin is nothing but beastly furre, and ex-  
treme violence, wherof procedeth hurte, and  
consequentlye rancour and malice doe re-  
maine with them that be wounded, wherfoze  
it is to be put in perpetual silence.

In clayth is employed to lyttle strength,

in boulyng often-times too much, where-by the sinewes be too much strayned, and the beynes too much chaufed, where-off often-times is seene to ensue ache, or the decrease of strength or agilytie in the armes, where-in shoting, if the shooter vse the strengthe of his bow with-in his owne tiller, he shall neuer be ther-with grieved or made moze feble.

Also in shoting is a double vtilytie, wherin it excelleth all other exercises and games incomparably. The one is, that it is and alway hath ben, the most excellēt artillery for warres, where-by this realme of Englande, hath bene not onely best defended from outwarde hostilitie, but also in other regions a few English archers haue bene seene to preuaile against people innumerable. Also won impzeignable cities, strong holdes, and kept them in the middes of the strengthe of the enemies. This is the feate, wher-by english men haue bene most dzadde and had in estimation with out-ward Princes, as wel enemies as alyes. And the commoditie theroff hath ben approued as far as Hierusalem, as it shall appeare in the lyues of Richarde the first, and Edward the first, kings of Englande, who made seuerall iourneyes to recover that holye Citie of Hierusalem into the possession of chzisten mē and atchieued them honozablye, the rather by the power of this feate of shooting.

Decay of  
Archers.

The premisses considered, O what cause  
L. iij. of



## The Gouvernour.

of reproch shall the decaye of archers bee to vs now lyuing: yea what irreuerable damage either to vs oz them, in whose time neede of semblable defence shal happē? which decay, though we already perceiue, feare, and lament, and for the restoring there-off cease not to make ordinances, good lawes and statutes: yet who effectually putteth his hand to continuall execution of the same lawes & pꝛouisions? oz beholding them dayly broken, winketh not at the offenders? But I shall heere-off moze speake in an other place, and retourne now to the second vtilytie, found in shooting in the longe bowe, which is killing of Deere, wilde foule, and other game, where-in is both pꝛofite and pleasure, aboue any other artillery.

And verily I suppose, that befoze crosse-bowes and hand gunnes were brought into this Realme, by the sleight of our enemies, to the intent to destroye the noble defence of archery, continuall vse of shooting in y<sup>e</sup> long bowe, made the feat so perfecte and exacte among English-men, that they then as surely and soone killed such game, which they lysted to haue, as they now can doe with the Crosse-bow and Gunne. But this sufficeth for the delectation of shooting, where-by it is sufficiently pꝛooued, that it incomparably excelleth all other exercise, pastime, oz solace.

And here-at I conclude to write of exercise,

eise, which apperteineth as well to Princes  
and noble men, as to all other by their exam-  
ple : which determine to passe forth the theyre  
lyues in vertue and honestie: And heere-af-  
ter, with the assistance of God vnto whome

I render this mine account, for the ta-  
lent that I haue of him receiued, I

purpose to write of the principall

and ( as I might saye ) the

particular studie and

affaires of him that

by the prouidēce

of God , is

called to

the

most difficult cure

of a publyke

weale.

Libri primi

Finis.

# THE SECOND BOOKE.

What things he that is elected or ap-  
poynted to bee a Gouvernour,  
of a Publyke weale ought  
to premeditate.  
Cap. 1.



In the booke proceeding,  
I haue (as I trust) suffi-  
ciently declared, as well  
what is to be called a ve-  
ry & right publike weale,  
as also, that there should  
bee there-off one Prince  
and soueraine aboue al o-  
ther gouernours. And I haue also expressed  
my conceit & opinion, touching not onely the  
studies, but also the exercises concerning the  
necessary educatiō of noble men & other, cal-  
led to the gouernaunce of a publike weale, in  
such forme as by the noble example of their  
liues, & the fruite ther off comming, the pub-  
lyke weale that shall happē to be vnder their  
gouernaunce, shall not faile to be accounted  
happy, & the authoritie on them to be employ-  
ed well & fortunately. Now will I treat of  
the preparation of such personages, when  
they first receiue anye great dignitie, charge,  
or gouernaunce, of the weale publyke.

First

reparati-  
on of Geo-  
graphers.



First such persons, being now Adulte, that is to say: passed their childhood, aswel in manners, as in yeres, if for their vertues & learning, they happe to be called to receiue anye dignitie, they should first remoue al company from them, and in a secreat Oratorie or priuie chamber, them selfe assemble all the powers of their wits to remember these .vij. articles which I haue not of mine own head deuised, but gathered as well out of holye Scripture, as out of the workes of other excellent Writers of famous memorie, as they shall soone perceiue, which haue read and perused good Authours in Greeke and Latine.

First and aboue all thing, let them consider, that from God onely proceedeth all honour. And that neither noble progenie, succession, nor election to be of such force, that by them any estate or dignitie may be so stablished, that god being stirred to vengeance, shall not shortly resume it, and perchance translate it where it shall like him. And forasmuche as examples greatly doe profite in the steed of experience, here shal it be necessary, to remember the historie of Saul, whome God him-selfe elected to be the first kinge of Israel, that where God commaunded him by the mouth of Samuel the Prophet, that forasmuch as the people called Amalech, hadde resisted the children of Israel, when they first departed from Aegypt, hee should ther-

The first consideration of gouernours.

Saul & Amalech.

## The Gouvernour.

Disobedi-  
ence,

foze destroy all the country, & slay men, women and childzen, all beasts and cattell, and that he should nothing saue or kepe ther-off. But Saul after that he had vāquished Amalech, and taken Agag king ther-off prisoner, he hauing on him compassion, saued his life onely. Also he preserved the best oxen, cattel, and vestures, and all other thing that was fairest, and of most estimation, and wold not consume it according as God had commaūded him, saying to Samuel, that the people kept it to the intent that they woulde make ther-off to almighty God a solemn sacrifice. But Samuel reproving him, sayd: Better is Obedience thē Sacrifice, with other words that follow in the history. Finally for that offence onely almighty God abieted Saule, that hee should no more reigne ouer Israel: and caused Samuel forth-with to annoynt Dauid king, the youngest sonne of a poore man of Bethalem named Iesse, which was keeping his fathers sheepe.

Since for once neglecting the commaundement of God, and that neither natural pitie, nor the intent to doe Sacrifice, with that which was saued, might excuse the trāsgression of Gods commaundement, nor mitigate his grievous displeasure: how vigilant ought a christian man being in authozitie, how vigilant (I say) industrious, and dilygent, ought he to be in the administratiō of a publyke weale: dreading alway the words, that  
he

be spoken by eternall Sapience to them that be gouernours of publike weales.

The words  
of sapience  
to gouernours.  
Sapience

All power & vertue is giuen of the Lord, that of al other is highest, who shal examine your deedes, and insearch your thoughts.

For when ye wer & ministers of his realme, ye iudged not vprightlye, neither obserued the law of Justice, nor ye walked not according to his pleasure. He shall shortlye & terribly appeare vnto you. For most hard and grieuous iudgement shall bee on them that haue rule ouer other. To the poore man mercie is graunted, but the great men shall suffer great torments. He that is lord of al excepteth no person, neither shall hee feare the greatnesse of any man: for he made as well the great as the smal, and careth for euerye of them equallye. The stronger or of more might the person is: the stronger paine is to him imminent. Therefore to you gouernours be these my words, that ye may learne wisdom, and fall not.

This notable sentence, is not onely to be imprinted in the hearts, of gouernours, but also to be often-times reuolued and called to remembraunce.

They shall not thinke, how much honour they receiue, but how much care and burden. Neyther shall they much esteeme their reuenues and treasure, considering that it is no bootie or praye, but a laborious office and trauayle.

The second  
consideration.

Let



## The Gouvernour.

The .iii.

Let them thinke the greater Dominion they haue, that therby they sustein the more care and study. And that therfore they must haue the lesse solace and pastime, and to sensuall pleasures lesse opportunitie.

The .iiii.

Also when they behold their garments & other ornaments rich and precious, they shal thinke, what reproach were to them to surmount in that, which be other mens workes and not theirs, & to be vanquished of a poore subiect in sundrye vertues, where-off they them-selues be the artificers.

The.v.

They that regarde them, of whome they haue gouernance, no more then shal apperteine to their own priuate commodities, they no better esteeme them, then other men doth their horses & mules, to whome they employ no lesse laboz and dilygence, not to the benefite of the silly beasts, but to their own necessities and singular aduantage.

The.vi.

The most sure foundation of noble renome is, a man to bee of such vertues and qualities, as he desireth to be openly published: For it is a faynt prayse, that is gotten with feare, or by flatterers giuen, and the same is but fume, which is supported with silence prouoked by menaces.

The.vii.

They shal also consider, that by their preheminance, they sit as it were on a pillar on the top of a Mountaine, where all the people do beholde them, not onely in theyr open affaires, but also in their secrete pastimes,  
prius

princie dalyaunce , or other improfitable or wanton conditions, which do alway imbrace that studie, wherein the maister delyteth, according to the saying of Iesus Hyrach: As yndge of the people is, so be his ministers. And such as be the gouernours of the citie, such be the people. which sentence is confirmed by sundry histories. For Nero, Caligula, Domitian, Lucius Commodus, Varius, Heliogabalus, monstrous emperours, nourished about them, ribaudes, and other voluptuous artificers.

Maximianus, Dioclesian, Maxentius and other persecutours of Chzistian men lacked not inuentours of cruel and terrible tormentes.

Contrarywise, reygning the noble Augustus, Nerua, Traiane, Hadria, the two Antonines, and the wonderfull Emperour Alexander for his grauitie called Seuerus, the Imperiall palaice was alwaye replenyshed with eloquent oratours, delectable Poetes, wise philosophers, moſte cunnyng and expert lawyers, prudent & valiant captaines. Who ſemblable examples ſhal hereof be founden, by them which purpoſely do read hyſto- ryes, whom of all other I moſt deſyre to be princes and gouernours.

Theſe articles wel and ſubſtancially gra- ſten in a noble mans memory, it ſhall alſo be neceſſary to cauſe the to bee delectably wri- ten and ſette in a table within his bed cham- ber

## The Gouvernour.

ber, adding to, the verses of Claudian, the noble poet, which he wrote to Honorius emperor of Rome. The verses I haue translated out of Latin into English, not observing the order as they stande, but the sentence belonging to my purpose.

¶ The table of gouernours to be hang-  
ged in their chambers.

Though thy pouer stretcheth both far and  
large.

Claudianus Through Inde the ritch, set at the wvorldes  
ende.

And Mede vvith Araby bee bothe vnder thy  
charge.

And also Seres, that sylke to vs doth sende:  
If fear thee trouble & smal things thee offed  
Corrupt desire thin hart hath once imbraced.  
Thou art in bondage, thin lionor is defaced.

Thou shalt be demed thā worthi for to reign  
When of thy self thou vvinnest the maistry,  
Euil custome bringeth vertue in disdeigne,  
Licence superfluous perswadeth much folly,  
In too much pleasure set not felicitie,  
If lust or anger do thy minde assayle,  
Subdue occasiō, & thou shalt soon preuaile.  
What thou maist do, delite not for to know,  
But rather vwhat thing vvil become thee best  
Embrace thou vertu, & kepe thy corage low  
And thinke that alvvay measure is a feast,  
Loue vvell thy people, care also for the least.  
And vvhe thou studiest for thy cominodity,  
Make



Make them all partners of thy felicitie.

Be not much moued vvith singuler appetite  
Except it profite vnto thy subiectes all.

At thine example the people vvyl delite.

Be it vice or vertue, vvith thee they rise or fall

No lawes auaille, men turne as doth a ball

For vvhere the ruler in lyuing is not stable,

Both law & counsaile is turned into a fable.

These verses of Claudian full of excellent wisdomes, as I haue said, would be in a table, in such a place as a gouernour once in a day may behold them, specially as they bee expressed in Latine by the saide poete, vnto whose eloquence no translation in Englyshe may be equiualent. But yet were it better to conne them by heart, yea & if they were made in the fourme of a ditty, to be songe to an instrument. O what a sweet song would it bee in the eares of wise men? For a mean musician might there of make a right pleasaunt harmony, where almost euery note shoulde expresse a counsaile vertuous or necessarie.

Ye haue now heard what premeditations be expedient befoze that a man take on him the gouernaunce of a publike weale. These notable premeditations and remembrances should be in his minde, which is in authority oftentimes renewed. Then shall hee proceede further in furnishing his person with honourable manners and qualities, whereof

very

## The Gouvernour.

Very nobilitie is compact, whereby all other shall be induced to honour, loue, and feare him, which thinges chiefly do cause perfect obedience.

Howe of these manners wyll I write in order, as in my conceit they be (as it were) naturally disposed and set in a noble man, & soonest in him noted or espied.

### ¶ The exposition of Ma- iestye. Cap.xi.

**I**f a gouernour or man, hauing in the publike weale some greate authoritie, the fountaine of all excellent maners, is Maiesty, which is the whole proportion and figure of noble estate, and is properly a beautie or comelines in his countenance language & gesture, apt to his dignitie, & accomodate to time, place, and company, which like as the sonne doth his beames, so doth it cast on the beholders & hearers, a pleasant & terrible reuerence. In so much as the words or countenances of so noble a man, should be in y<sup>e</sup> stede of a firme & stable law to his inferiours: yet is not maiestie alway in haute or fierce countenance, nor in speech outragious or arrogāt, but in honorable & sober demeanure, delyberate & graue pronounciation, wordes cleane & facyle, boyd of rudenes & dishonesty, without bayne or inordinate iangling, with such an excellent temperance, that he amonge an  
infinites

infinite number of other persons, by his maiestie may be espyed for a gouernour.

Whereof wee haue a noble example in Homer of Vlisses, that when his shippe and men were perished in the sea and hee vneth escaped, and was cast on lande vppon a coast where the enhabitauntes were called Pheacas, he being all naked, sauing a mantle sent to him by the kinges daughter, without other apparell, or seruant, represented suche a wonderfull maiestie in his countenance, & speech, that the king of the countrey, named Alcinous, in that extreme calamitie wished, that Vlisses, woulde take his daughter Nausicaa to wife, with a greate parte of his treasure. And declaring the honour that he bare towarde him, hee made for his sake dyuerse noble esbatementes and pastimes. The people also wonderinge at his Maiestie, honoured him with sundrye presentes. And at their proper charges and expenses, conuayed him into his owne Realme of Ithaca, in a shippe of wonderfull beautie, well ordinaunced and manned for his defence & saufe conduct. The wordes of Alcinous, whereby he declareth the maiestie, that he noted to bee in Vlisses, I haue put in english, not so well as I founde them in Greeke.

M.

Alci.



## The Gouvernour.

Alcinous to Vlysses.

Whan I thee cōsider Vlysses, I perceiue,  
Thou doest not dissemble to me in thy spech  
As other haue done, which craftilye can de-  
ceiue.

Vntrulye reportinge, vvhether they lyst to  
preache.

Of thinges neuer done, such falsshod they do  
teache.

But in thy vvordes, there is a ryghte good  
grace.

And that thy mynde is good, it shevveth in  
thy face.

The estimation of maiestie in counte-  
nance, shalbe declared by two examples now  
ensuing.

To Scipio, beyng in his manoure place,  
called Linternum, came dyuers great theues  
& pirates, only to the intent to see his person,  
of whose wondrous prowesse and sounde  
victories they heard the renome. But hee  
not knowinge, but that they came to endo-  
mage him, armed him selfe and suche ser-  
uauntes as he then had with hym, and dis-  
posed them about the unbattlementes of his  
house, to make defence, whiche the capytay-  
nes of the theues perceiuing, dispatched the  
multitude from them, and laying apart their  
harnes and weapons, called to Scipio with  
a loude voyce, saying: that they came not as  
enimies

enimyes, but wondryng at his vertue and  
 promesse, desired onely to see him, whiche if  
 he vouched saufe, they would account for an  
 heauenly benefyte. That beinge shewed to  
 Scipio by his seruaunts, he caused the gates  
 to be set wide open, and the thecues to be suf-  
 fered to enter: who kyssing the gates and  
 posts with much reuerence, as they had bene  
 of a temple or other place dedicate, humblye  
 approached to Scipio, which vsaged them in  
 such fourme, that they are subdued with a  
 reuerent dzedde, in beholding his maiestie, at  
 the last ioyfully kissing his hand oftentimes,  
 which hee benygely offered to them, made  
 humble reuerence, and so departed, laying in  
 the porch semblable offrynges, as they gaue  
 to their goddes: And forthwith retourned to  
 their owne habitations, reioycing incredibly,  
 that they had seene and touched a Prince so  
 noble and valiaunt.

It is no lyttle thinge to meruaile at the  
 Maiestie shewed in extreme fortune and my-  
 serie. The noble Romaine Marius, when hee  
 had ben vij. times consul, being vanquished  
 by Sylla, after that hee had longe byd him-  
 selfe in maryses, and deserte places, was fi-  
 nally constrainyed by famyne to repayre to a  
 towne called Minturne, where hee trusted to  
 haue ben succoured. But the inhabitantes,  
 dreading the crueltie of Sylla, tooke Marius  
 and put him into a dungeon. And after sent  
 to sea hym their common hangeman, whiche

M.ij.

was

## The Gouvernour.

was borne in Cimbria, a countrey sometime destroyed by Marius. The hangman, beholding the honorable porte and Maiestie, that remainned in Marius, notwithstanding that he was out of honorable apparell, and was in garmentes torne & filthy, he thought that in his visage appeared the terryble battayle, where-in Marius vanquished his countrey-men: he therfore all trembling, as constrained by feare, did let fall out of his hande the swoorde, wherewith he should haue slain Marius, and leauing him vntouched, fled out of the place. The cause of his feare reported to the people, they moued with reuerence, afterward studied and deuysed howe they mighte deliuer Marius from the malice of Scilla.

In Augustus, Emperour of Rome, was a natie maiestie. For as Suetonius wytteth from his eyen proceeded rayes or beames, which perced the eyen of the beholders. The same Emperour spake seldome openly, but out of a cōmentary, that is to say, that he had befoze prouided and witten, to the intente that hee woulde speake no moze ne lesse then he had purposed.

Moreouer, toward the acquiting of Maiestie, three thinges be required in the oratiō of a man hauing authoritie, that it be cōpendious, sententious, & delectable, hauing also respecte to the time when, the place where, and the persons to whome it is spoken. For the wordes perchance apte for a bankette or  
time



time of solace, bee not commendable in time of consultation or seruice of God. That language that in the chamber is tollerable, in place of iudgement or great assembly is nothing commendable.

Of apparaile belonging to a noble man, being a gouernour or great counsaylour. Cap. 3.

**A**pparaille may be well a part of maiestie. For as there hath bene euer a discrepance of vesture of youth and age, men & women, and our lord god ordeyned the apparaille of Priestes distinct from seculars, as it appeareth in holy scripture: also the Gentiles had of auncient time sundry apparaile to sundry estates, as to the Senate, and dignities called Magistrates: and what enormitie shold it now be thought, and a thing to laughe at, to see a Judge or Sericant at the law in a short coate garded and pounced after the galiarde fashion, or an Apprentise of the Law or Pleader, come to the barre with a millayne or French bonnet on his head set full of agglets. So is there apparaile comely to euery estate and degree, and that which exceedeth or lacketh, procureth reproch, in a noble man specialllye. For apparaille simple or scant reprooueth him of auarice. If it be alway exceeding precious & often-times chaunged, as wel into charge as

M. ij.

straunge

## The Gouvernour.

Strange and new fashions, it caused him to be noted dissolute of manners.

The most noble Emperours of Rome, Augustus, Traiane, Hadriane, Antonine, Seuerus, and Alexander, which were of all other incomparable in honorable living, vsed a discreete moderation in their apparayle, although they were great Emperours & gentiles. How much more ought then Chzistian men, whose denomination is founded on humilitie, and they that bee not of the estate of princes to shew a moderation and constance in vesture, that they diminish no parte of their Maiestie, either with new fanglenesse, or with ouer sumptuous expences, and yet maye this last bee suffered, where there is a great assemble of straungers: for then sometime it is expedient that a noble man, in his apparayle, doe aduaunce himselfe to be both rich and honourable. But in this as wel as in other parts of maiestie, time is to be highly considered.

Hangings  
and plate  
meete for a  
noble man.

Seimblalye Decking oughte to bee in the house of a noble man or man of honoure. I meane concerning ornaumentes of Hall and chambers, in Arras, painted tables, & Images concerning histozyes, where-in is represented some monument of vertue most cunningly wrought, with the circumstance of the matter briefly declared, where-by other men in beholding, maye bee instructed, or at the least waye to vertue perswaded. In like  
wise

wise his plate and vessayle, would be ingraued with hystories, fables, or quick and wise sentences, comprehending good doctrine or counsailes, where-by one of these commodities may happen, either that they which doe eat or drinke, hauing those wisdomes euer in sight, shal happen with the meat to receiue some of them, or by purposing them at the table, maye suffocate some disputation or reasoning, where-by some parte of time shal be saued, which els by superfluous eating and drinking would be idelly consumed.

What very Nobilytie is, and where-off it toke first that denomination. Cap. 4.

**N**ow it is to be feared, that where manliestie approacheth to excessse, & y<sup>e</sup> minde is oblessed with inordinate glozy, lest pride, of all vices most horrible, shold sodeinely enter and take prisoner the heart of a Gentleman called to authoritie. Wherefore inasmuch as that pestilence corrupteth all senses, and maketh them incurable by anye perswasio<sup>n</sup> or doctrine, therfore such persons, from their adolescencie ought to bee perswaded and taught true knowledge of very nobilitie, in forme following or lyke.

Adolescencie is y<sup>e</sup> age next to the state of m<sup>a</sup>.

First that in the beginning, when priuate Nobilytie possessions & dignitie were given by the con- began.

M. iij.

sent



## The Gouvernour.

sent of the people, who than had all things in common, and equalitie in degree and condition. Undoubtedly they gaue the one and the other to him, at whose vertue they meruayled, and by labour and industrie they receyued a common benefite, as of a common father, that with equall affection loued them. And that promptitude or readinesse in employing that benefite was then named in english gentlenes, as it was in Latin Benignitas, and in other tongues, after a semblable signification: and the persons were called Gentlemen, moze for the remembraunce of their vertue and benefite, then for discrepance of estate.

Also it fortun'd by the prouidence of god, that of those good men were ingendred good children, who being brought vp in vertue, and perceiuing the cause of the aduancement of their progenitour, endeauoured the-selues by imitation of vertue, to be equall to them, in honour and authoritie: by good emulation, they reteyned still the fauoure and reuerence of people. And for the goodnesse that proceeded of suche generation, the estate of them was called in Greeke, Engenia. which signifieth good kinde or linage, but in a moze brieve manner it was after called Nobilitie, and the persons Noble, which signifieth excellent, & in the Analogie, or signification it is moze ample then gentle: for it containeth as well all that which is in gentlenesse as also

so the honour or dignitie therfore receiued, which be so annexed the one to y other, that they can-not be seperate.

It wold be mozeouer declared, that where vertue toynded with great possessions or dignitie hath longe continued in the bloude or house of a Gentleman, as it were an inheritance, there nobilitie is most shewed, & these noble men be most to be honozed: forasmuch as continuance in al thing that is good, hath euer pzeheminece in praise and comparison.

But yet shall it bee necessarpe to aduertise those persons that do thinke that Nobilytie maye in no wise be, but onely where men can aduaunt them of auncient lynage, an auncient roabe, or great possessions, at this daye, very noble men do suppose to be much erroz and follye. Where-off there is a familiar example which we beare euer with vs: for the bloud in our bodie, beeing in youth warine, pure, & lustie, is the occasiō of beautie, which is euery where commended and loued: but in age being putrified, it leeseeth his prayse. And y goutes, carbuncles, cankers, lepryes, and other lyke sores and sickneses, which do proceed of bloud corrupted, be to all men detestable. And this perswasion to any Gentleman, in whome is apt disposition to verpe Nobilitie, will bee sufficient, to with drawe him from such vice, where-by hee maye empaire his owne estimation, and the good re-noume of his auncestours.

## The Gouvernour.

Auncient  
robes.

If he haue an auncient roabe, lefte by his auncetour, let him consider, that if the first owner were of moze vertue then he is, that succeedeth, the robe being worke, minisheth his praise, to thē which know or haue heard of the vertue of him that first owed it. If he that weareth it be vicious, it moze detecteth how much he is vnworthy to weare it, the remembraunce of his noble auncetour making men to abhorre the reproch giuen by an euill successour.

If the first owner were not vertuous, it condemneth him that weareth it of much foolishnes, to glozy in a thing of so base estimation, which lacking beautie or glose, can bee none ornament to him y weareth it, nor honourable remēbrance to him y first owed it.

Nobilitie  
vvhether in  
it is.

But now to confirme by true histories, that according as I late affirmed, nobilytie is not onely in dignitie or auncient lygnage, nor great reuenues, landes, or possessions, let young Gentlemen haue often-times tolde to them, and (as it is vulgarly spoken) layd in their lappes, how Numa Pompilius was taken from husbandry, which he exercised, and was made king of Romaines by electiō of the people. What caused it suppose yee, but his wisdom and vertue, which in him was very nobilitie: and that nobilitie, brought him to dignitie? And if that were not nobilytie the Romaines wer meruailously abused, that after the death of Romulus their king, ha-  
uing —

Numa  
kinge of  
Romaines.



uing among them a hundred senators, whom Romulus did set in authoritie, and also the bloud royall, and olde Gentlemen of the Sabines, who by the procurement of the wiues of the Romaines, being their daughters, inhabited the citie of Rome, they would not of some of them electe a Kinge, rather then aduance a plough-man and straunger to that authoritie.

Quintius, hauing but .xxx. acres of lande, and being plough-man ther-off, the Senate & people of Rome, sent a messenger to shew him, that they had chosen him to be Dictator, which was at that time, the highest dignitie among the Romaines, & for three moneths had authoritie royal. Quintius hering the message, let his plough stande, and went into the citie, and prepared his host against the Samnites, & vanquished them valyantly. And that done, he surrendred his office, and being discharged of the dignitie, repayred againe to his plough, & applyed it diligently.

Quintius  
Dictator.

I would demaund now, if nobilitye were only in the dignitie or in his prowesse, which he shewed agaynst his enmyes.

If it were onely in his dignitie, it therewith ceased, & he was (as I might say) estimationes vnnoble, & then was his prowesse unrewarded, which was the chief and originall cause of that dignitie: which wer incongruet & with-out reson. If it were in his prowesse, prowesse consistinge of valyaunt courage,  
and

## The Gouvernour.

and marciall polycie, if they still remayne in the person, he may neuer be with-out nobilitie, which is the commendation, & as it wer the surname of vertue.

Decii and  
their auco

The two Romaines, called bothe Decii, were of the base estate of the people, and not of the great bloud of the Romaines: yet for the preservation of their countrey, they allowed to dye, as it were in a satisfaction for all their countrey, and so with valyaunt hearts they pearced the hoast of their eninyes, and valyantly fighting, dyed there honorably: & by their example gaue such audacitie & courage to the residue of the Romaines, that they employed so their strength against their enemies, that with lyttle moze losse, they obtayned victoery,

Dought not these two Romaines, which by their death gaue occasion of victoery, be called noble? I suppose no mā that knoweth what reason is, will denye it.

More ouer, we haue in this realin coynes, which be called Nobles, as long as they be seene to be golde, they be so called: but if they be counterfayted, and made in brasfe, copper, or other vyle mettall, who for the print onely calleth them Nobles? wher by it appeareth, that the estimation is the mettall, and not in the print or figure.

And in a hourse or good grey hounde, wee praise that we se in them, and not the beauty or goodnes of their progeny. which proueth  
that

that in esteeming of money and cattell, we be led by wisdom, and in approving of man, to whom beastes and money do serue, we be onely induced by custome.

Thus I conclude, that Nobilitie is not after the vulgare opinion of men, but is onely the praise and surname of Vertue.

Which the longer it continueth in a name or lineage, the more is nobilitie extolled and meruayled at.

Of affabilitie, and the vtilitie thereof  
in euery estate. Cap. 5.

TO that, which I befoze named gentleness, be incident thre speciall qualities, Affabilitie, Placabilitie, & Mercy, of whom I wil now separately declare the proper significations.

Affabilitie is of wondrous efficacy or power in procuring loue. And it is in sundry wise, but most properly, where a man is facile or easy to be spoken vnto. It is also where a man speaketh courtesly, with a sweet speech or countenance wherewith the hearers (as it were with a delicate odour) be refreshed and allured to loue him, in whome is this most delectable qualitie. As contrariwise, men vehemently hate them, that haue a proud and haughty countenance, bee they neuer so high in estate or degree. Howe often haue I heard people say, when men in great authority

Haughty countenances



## The Gouvernour.

citie haue passed by, withoute making gentyll countenaunce, to those which haue done to them reuerence: Thys man weeneth with a looke to subdue all the worlde: Nay, nay, mens heartes bee free, and will loue whome they lyst. And therto all the other do consent in a murmure, as it were Bees. Lorde God howe they be soze blinded, which doo weene, that hautie countenaunce is comelines of nobilitie, where vndoubtedly nothing is thereto, a moze greater blemishe. As they haue well proued, which by fortunes mutabilitie, haue changed their estate, whē they perceiue that the remembraunce of their pryde withdraweth all pytie, all men reioysinge at the chaunge, of their fortune.

Dionyse the proude kynge of Sicile, after that for his intollerable pryde was dryuen by hys people out of his realme, the remembraunce of his hautie and stately countenance was to all men so odious, that he could be in no countrey well entertayned. In so muche as if he had not bene relieued by learning, teaching a grammar schoole in Italy, he for lacke of friends had bene constreyned to begge for his lyuing.

Semblably Perfes kinge of Macedonia, and one of the ritchest kinges that euer was in Grece. For his execrable pryde was at the last abandoned of all his allies and confederates, by reason wherof he was banquished, and taken prisoner by Paulus Aemilius, one  
of

of the consules of Rome: & not onely he himselfe bounden, and leddz as a captiue, in the tryumph of the sayde Paulus, but also the remembrance of his pryde was so odious to people, that his owne son, destitute of friends was by neede constreigned so worke in a smithes forge, not finding any man that of his hard fortune had any compassion.

The pryde of Tarquine, the last Kinge of Romaines, was more occasion of his exile: than the rauyng of Lucretia, by his sonne Aruncius. For the malice that the people by his pride had long gathered, finding valiant capitaynes, Brutus, Collatinus, Lucretius, and other nobles of the citie, at the last brast out, and taking occasion of the rauishment although the kinge were there-to no partye, they vtterly expulsed him for euer out of the citie. These be the fruites of pryde, & that me do call stately countenance.

When a noble manne passeth by, shewing to men a gentle and famyliar visage, it is a world to behold, how people taketh comfort, howe the bloude in their visage quickeneth, how their flesh styreth, and heartes leape for gladnes. Then they all speake, as it were in an harmonye: the one saythe, who beholding this mannes most gentle countenance, wil not with al his heart loue him: Another saith, He is no man, but an aungel, se how he reioyceth all men that beholde him. Finally all do graūt, that he is worthy all honoz that may

Gentle  
countenance.

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may be giuen or wished him.

But now to resorte to  $\phi$ , which most properly (as I haue said) is affability, which is facile or easy to be spoken vnto.

Marcus Antonius, Emperour of Rome, (as Lampridius writeth) inserched, who were moste homely and playne men with-in the citie, and secretely sent for them into hys chamber where hee diligentlve enquired of them, what the people coniected of his lyeuinge, commaundinge them vppon payne of his hyghe indignation to tell him trouth and hyde nothing from him. And vpon their report, if hee heard any thing worthy neuer so little dispraise, he forthwith amended it. And also by such meanes he corrected them that were about his person, finding them negligent dissemblers and flatterers.

The noble Traiane when his nobles and counsaillours noted him to familiar and courtesie, and therefore did blame him. He answered, that he woulde be a lyke emperoz to other men, as if he were a subiecte, he would wish to haue ouer himselfe.

Libertie in speaking.  
Alexanders  
crueltie in  
sleing his  
friendes.

What damage hath ensued to prynces and their realines, where libertie of speach hath ben restrained?

What auayled fortune incomparable to the great king Alexander, his wondrousfull puissance and hardines, or his singuler doctrine in Philosophie, taught him by Aristotle, in deliuereng hym from the death in  
his



hys yoting and flourishing age: where if hee had reteyned the same effabilitie, that was in him in the beginning of his conquest, and hadde not put to silence hys counsaylours, which befoze vsed to speake to him frankly, hee might haue escaped all vyolent deathe: and by simplicitude haue enioyed the whole Monarchie of all the worde. For after that he waxed to be terrible in manners, and prohibited his friende, and discrete seruantes, to vse their accustomed libertie in speach, hee fell into the hurtful grudge among his owne people.

But I had almost forgotten Iulius Cæsar, who being not able to susteyne the burden of fortune, and enuying his owne selyctie, abandoned his naturall disposition, and as it were being dronke with ouer much wealth, sought newe wayes, howe to bee aduanced aboue the estate of mortall princes, wherefoze lyttle and little he withdrew from men his accustomed gentlenesse, becomming more sturdy in language, & straunge in countenance, than euer befoze had bene his vsage. And to declare more playnely his insente, hee made an edicte or decree, that no man shoulde presse to come to him vncalled, and that they shoulde haue good awayt, that they spake not in such familiar facion to him as they befoze had bene accustomed: where by he so dyd alpenate from hym the heartes of hys most wyse and assured adherentes,

Iulius Cæsar exam-  
ple of  
tirannie.

¶ 1.

that

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that from that time forwarde, his life was to them tedious : and abhorring hym as a monster or commone enemye , beinge knytte in a confederacye , slewe hym sittinge in the Senate : of whiche conspiracye was chiefe capitayne Marcus Brutus, whome of all other hee best loued , for his great wisdom and prowesse. And it is of some wryters suspected, that hee was begotten of Cæsar, for as muche as Cæsar in his youth loued Seruilia, the mother of Brutus, and as men supposed, vsed hir moze familiarly then honestie required. Thus Cæsar by omitting his olde affabilitie, did incense his next friends and companions to slea him.

Damage  
ensuing by  
lacke of  
libertie of  
spech.

But now take hede what damage ensued to him by his decree, wherein he commaunded, that no man shoulde bee so hardy to approche or speake to hym: One which knewe of the conspyracye agaynst him, and by all likelyhode dyd participate therein, being moued eyther with loue or pitie , or otherwys his conscience remoꝝding against the destruction of so noble a prince, considering that by Cæsars decree hee was prohibited to haue to hym any familiar accesse, so that hee might not plainly detecte the conspiracy, he thereto vehemently moued, wrote in a byll all the fourine thereof , with the meanes howe it myghte bee espyed, and since hee might finde none other oportunitie, hee deliuered the bill to Cæsar the same day that his death was

prepared, as hee wente towarde the place, where the Senat was holden. But he being radicate in pride, and neglecting to looke on that byll, not esteeming the person that deliuered it, which perchance was but of a mean behauiour, continued his way to the Senat, where he in eontinent was slaine by the saide Brutus, and many mo of the Senate for that purpose appoynted.

who beholding the cause of the death of this most noble Caesar, vnto whō in eloquēce doctrine, marciail prowesse, & gentlenesse, no prince may be cōpared: & the acceleration oz hast to his cōfusion, caused by hys own edict oz decre, wil not cōmende affabilitie, & extoll liberalitie of speach: whereby only loue is in the heartes of people perfectly kyndeled, all feare excluded, and cōsequently realmes, dominions, and all other authorities consolidate and perpetually stablished. The sufferance of noble men to be spoken vnto, is not onely to them an incōparable suretie, but also a confounder of repentaunce, enemye to prudence, wherof is ingēdred this word, Had I wilt, which hath bē euer of al wise men reprobued.

On a time kynge Philippe, father to the great Alexander, sitting in iudgement, & ha-  
 uing befoze him a matter against one of hys  
 souldiours, being ouercommen with watch,  
 fell on a slumber, and sodaynly beinge awa-  
 ked immediatly would haue given a sentence  
 against the pooze souldiour. But hee with a

iudgement  
 suspended  
 through  
 libertie of  
 speche.  
 Plutarch.

¶

great



## The Gouvernour,

great voyce and outcrie saide: King Philip.

I appeale, to whome wilt thou appale sayde the king: To thee (said the souldiour) when thou art thzoughly awaked. With whiche aunswere the king suspended hys sentence, and moze dyligently examyning the matter, founde, the souldiour had wzonge: whych he yng sufficiently discussed, hee gaue iudgemente for hym, whome befoze he would haue condemned.

Seemably hapned by a pooze woman, against whom the same king had giuen iudgemente but shee as desperate, with a loude voyce cryed: I appele, I appele. To whom appelest thou saide the king: I appeale saide she, from thee, nowe being dzonke, to Kinge Philip the sober. At which wordes, though they were vndiscrete and foolish, yet he not being moued to dyspleasure, but gatheringe to hym his wittes, examyned the matter moze seriously: whereby he finding the pooze woman to susteine wzonges, reuerfed hys iudgement, and according to truth and iustice: gaue to hir that she demaunded. wherein he is of noble autors commended, and put for an honozable example of affabilitie.

Antoninus  
philosophus  
Herodianus

The noble Emperoꝛ Antonine, called the philosopher, was of suche affabilitie, as Herodiane wyrteth, that to euery mā that came to him, he gently deliuered his hand. And woulde not permitte, that his garde shoulde prohibite any man to appꝛoch hym.

The

The excellent Emperour Augustus, on a time in the pzeſence of many men, played on **Auguſtus.**  
**Cimballs,** or an other lyke instrument. A poore man ſtanding with other, and behol- **Suetonius.**  
 ding the Emperour, ſayd with a loud voyce to his fellow, **Seeſt thou not how this vo-**  
**luptuous lechoure tempereth all the worlde**  
**with his finger? Which wordes the Empe-**  
**roure ſo wiſely noted, with out wꝛath or diſ-**  
**pleaſure, that euer after, during his lyfe he**  
**refrained his handes from ſemblable lyght-**  
**neſſe.**

The good Antonine Emperour of Rome, comming to ſupper to a meane Gentleman, **Antonius**  
 behelde in the houſe certaine pillers of a de- **pius.**  
 lycate ſtone, called **Porphory,** asked of the **Læpridius.**  
 good man wher he had bought thoſe pillers.  
 Who made to the Emperour this aunſwer:  
**Sir, whē ye come into an other mang houſe,**  
**than your owne, euer be you both dumb and**  
**deafe. Which lyberall taunt that moſt gentle**  
**Emperour tooke in ſo good part, that he of-**  
**tentimes reherſed that ſentence to other, for**  
**a wiſe and diſcreet counſayle.**

By theſe examples appereth now euident-  
 ly, what good commeth of affabilitie or ſuf-  
 feraunce of ſpeache, what moſt pernicious  
 daunger alway enſueth to them, that eyther  
 doe reſuſe counſayle, or prohibite lybertie of  
 ſpeech, ſince that in lybertie (as it hath bene  
 proued) is moſt perfect ſuretie, according as  
 it is remēbꝛed by **Plutarch,** of **Theopompus,**

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king of Lacedemonia, who being demaunded, how a realme might be best & most surely kept: If (sayde hee) the Prince giue to his friends libertie to speake to him things that be iust, and neglecteth not the wronges that his subiects susteineth.

How noble a vertue, Placabilite is. Cap. 6.



Placabilite is no lyttle parte of benignitie, and is properly wher a man is by any occasion moued to be angrie, and notwithstanding either by his owne reason ingenerate, or by counsaile perswaded, omitteeth to be reuenged, and often-times receiueeth the transgressour once reconciled, into more fauour, which vndoubtedly is a vertue wonderfull excellent. For as Tully sayeth: Nothing is more to be meruailed at, or that more becomineth a man noble and honourable, then mercie and placabilite.

Cice. offi. 1.

The value there off is best known by the contrary, which is yre, called vulgarly wrath, a vice most vglye, and fardest from humanitie.

Yre or  
wrath.

For who beholding a man in estimation of nobilityte and wisdom, by fury chaunged into an horrible figure, his face infarced with rancour, his mouth foule and unbossed, his eyes wide staring, and sparkelynge like a fire,



fire, not speaking, but as a wilde Bull, roaring and braying out wordes despitemfull and benymous, forgetting his estate or condition, forgetting learninge, yea, forgettinge all reason, will not haue suche a passion in extreame detestation? Shall he not wish to be in such a man placabiltye? wher-by only he should be cftsoones restored to the forme of a man, wher-off he is by wrath despoyled, as it is wondrously well described by Ouide in his craft of loue.

Man to thy visage it is conuenient,  
Beastly fury shortly to asswage.  
For peace is beautifull, to man onely sent,  
Wrath to the beast is cruel and sauage.  
For in man the face swelleth, vwhen vwrath  
is in rage.

The bloude becommeth vvanne, the eyes  
firie bright.

Lyke Gorgon the Monster appering in the  
night.

This Gorgon that Ouid speaketh off, is V Vrash,  
supposed of Poets to be a furpe, or infernall  
monster, whose haire was all in y figure of  
Adders, signifying the aboundaunce of mis-  
chiefe, that is contained in wrath.

Wher-with the great king Alexander being  
(as I might say possessed, did put to vbe-  
nable death his deare friend Clitus, his most Alexander  
prudent Counsaylour Calisthenes, his most in furie.

J. iiij.

valpant



## The Gouvernour.

halpant capitaine Philotas with his father Parmenio, and diuers other. where-off he so soze after repented, that oppressed with heauines, had slaine him selfe, had hee not bene let by his seruants. wherefoze his fury and an inordinate wzath, is foule and a grienous blemish to his glozpe, which with-out that vice, had incomparably excelled al other princes.

The horri-  
ble cruelty  
of Silla and  
Marins.

who abhorreth or hateth not the byolēce, or rage that was in Scilla and Marius? noble Romaines, and in their time in highest authoritie with-in the Citie, hauing the gouernance of the most parte of the worlde, Silla for the malignitie that he had toward Marius, caused the heads of a thousand and seauen hundred of the chiefe citizens of Rome, to be stricken off, & brought to him fresh bleeding and quicke, and there-on fed his most cruell eye, which to eate his mouth naturally abhorred.

Marius with no lesse rancour enflamed, beside a terrible slaughter, that he made of noble men, leaning to Silla, also caused Caius Cæsar (who had ben both Consul and Censor, two of the moste honourable dignities in the citie of Rome) to be byolently drawen to the sepulture of one Varius, a simple and seditious person, and there to bee dishonestlye slayne. With lyke bestiall fury, he caused the head of Marcus Antonius, one of the most eloquent Orators of all the Romaines, to bee brought

brought vnto him, as he sate at dinner, & ther  
toke the head all bloudy betweene his hands  
and with a malitious countenaunce repro-  
ched him of his eloquence, wher-with he had  
not only defended many an innocent, but al-  
so the whole publyke weale by his wise con-  
sultations singularly pzoofited.

¶ What calamitie happened to that moste  
noble citie of Rome by the implacabyltye of  
wzath insatiabie, of these two captaines, or  
(as I might rather say) deuills: the nobles  
betweene them exhaust, the chiuallrye almost  
consumed, the Lawes oppressed, and lacking  
but little, that the publike weale had not ben  
extinct, and the Citie vtterly desolate.

The vndiscreete hastinesse of the Empe-  
rour Claudius, caused him to bee noted for  
foolyshe. For he moued with wzathe, caused  
diuers to be slain, for whom after he demaũ-  
ded, and would send for to supper. Notwith-  
standing that he was right well learned: and  
in diuers great affaires appeared to be wise.  
These discommodities do happen by impla-  
cable wzath where-off there be examples in-  
numerable.

Contrariwise, the valyaunt king Pirrhus,  
hearing that two men at a feast, & in a great  
assembly & audiẽce, had openly spoken wordes  
to his reproch, mooued with displeasure, sent  
for the persons, and when they wer come, he  
demaunded whether they spake of him anye  
such wordes: where-vnto one of them an-  
swered

Pirrhus.



## The Gouvernour.

one of them aunswered, If (sayde hee) the wine had not the sooner fayled vs, all that which was tolde to your highnes, in comparison of that which should haue bene spoken had bene but trifles. The wise Prince with that plaine confession was mittigate, and his wrath conuerted to laughing.

Placabilite

Iulius Cæsar, after his victorie against the great Pompey, who had married his daughter, sitting in open iudgement, Sergius Galba one of the nobles of Rome, a friend vnto Pompey, sayd vnto him: I was bounden for thy son in law Pompey in a great summe, when he was Consul the thirde time, wherefore I am now sewed. what shall I doe? Shall I my selfe pay it? By which words he might seeme to reproch Cæsar of the selling of Pompeyes goodes, in defrauding his creditours. But Cæsar than hauing a gentle heart and a patient, was not moued with any displeasure toward Galba: but caused Pompeyes debts, to be discharged.

Wee lacke not of this vertue domesticall examples, I meane of our owne kinges of Englande: but most specially one, which in mine opinion, is to bee compared with any, that euer was written off in any Region or countrey.

A good  
Iudge, a  
good prince  
a good king

The most renowned Prince, king Henry the first, late king of Englande, duringe the lyfe of his father, was noted to be fierce and of wanton courage: it happened that one of his

his seruants, whom he fauored well, was for felony by him committed arreyned at the kings bench: whereoff the prince being aduertised, and incensed by light persons about him, in furious rage came hastily to the barre; where his seruant stode as a prisoner, and commaunded him to be vngiued and sette at libertie. Where-at all men were abashed, reserved the chief Iustice, who humbly exhorted the Prince to be contented that his seruant might be ordered, according to the ancient lawes of this Realme: or if he would haue him saued from the rigour of the laws, that he should obteyne, if he might, of the king his father his gracious pardon, whereby no Law or Iustice should be derogate.

With which aunswere the prince nothing appeased, but rather more inflamed, endeauoured himselfe to take away his seruant. The Iudge considering the perillous example and inconuenience that might thereby ensue, with a valyaunt spirite and courage, commaunded the Prince vpon his allea-  
gance to leaue the prisoner and departe his way, & which commaundement the Prince being set all in a fure, all chaufed, and in a terrible manner, came vnto the place of iudgement, men thinking he would haue slaine the Iudge, or haue done to him some damage: but the Iudge sitting still without mouing, declaring the maiestie of the Kings place of iudgement, & with an assured & bold

com-

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countenance, had to the prince these words following.

Sir remember your selfe, I keepe heere the place of the king your soueraigne Lord and father, to whome ye owe double obedience: wherefore eftsoones in his name, I charge you desist of your wilfulnesse and unlawfull enterprize, & from hence-foorth giue good example to those, which heereafter shall be your proper subiectes. And now, for your contempte and disobedience. Goe you to the prison of the Kinges benche, where vnto I commit you, and remaine ye there prisoner vntill the pleasure of the Kinge your Father be further knownen. With which words being abashed, and also wondring at y<sup>e</sup> mercenailous grauitie of that worshipful Iustice, the noble Prince laying his weapon aparte, doing reuerence, departed, and went to the Kings bench, as he was commaunded.

Where-at his seruants disdayning, came & shewed to the king al y<sup>e</sup> whole affayze. Where-at he a whiles studying, after as a mā all raiued with gladnesse, holding his eyes and handes vp towards heauen, abrayded with a loud voyce: O mercifull God, how much am I bound to your infinite goodnes, specially for that ye haue giuen me a Iudge, who feareth not to minister Iustice, and also a son, who can suffer semblably and obey Iustice?

Now heere a man may beholde thre persons



sonnes, worthe excellent memory. **F**yrste a Judge, who being a subiecte, feared not to execute iustyce on the eldest sonne of his so-  
ueraigne lorde, and by the order of nature,  
his successor. Also a prince and sonne and  
heire of the Kyng, in the middes of his su-  
rre, more considered his euill example, and  
the iudges constance in iustice, then his owne  
estate or wilfull appetyte. Thirdly, a noble  
kyng and wyse father, who contrarie to the  
custome of parents, reioyced to see his sonne  
and the hayre of his crowne, to bee for hys  
disobedience, by his subiect corrected. Where-  
fore I conclude, that nothing is more hono-  
rable, or to be desired in a prince or noble mā  
than placabilitie. As contrary wise, nothing  
is so detestable or to bee feared in suche one,  
as wrath and cruell malignitie.

¶ That a gouernour ought to be mercy-  
full, and the diuersitie of mercy  
and vaine pitie. Cap. 7.

**M**ercy is and hath beene euer of suche  
estimation with mankinde, that not  
onelye reason perswadeth, but also ex-  
perience proueth, that in whome mercy lac-  
keth, and is not founden, in him all other ver-  
tues be drowned, and lose their iust commen-  
dation.

The vice called crueltie. whiche is con-  
trary to mercy, is by good reason most odious  
Crueltie  
odious

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bus of all other vices, in as much as like a poyson or continuall pestilence, it destroyeth the generation of man. Also lykewise as no-  
rhything meates and drinckes in a sicke bo-  
dy, doe loose their bountie, and augmenteth  
malady: semblably dyuers vertues in a per-  
son cruell and malicious, be not onely obfus-  
cate or hid, but do minyster occasyon and as-  
sistence to crueltie.

But nowe to speake of the inestimable  
pryce and value of mercy. Lette gouernours  
whych knowe, that they haue receiued their  
power from aboue, reuolue in their myndes  
in what perple they themselue bee in daile,  
if in God were not abundance of mercy, but  
as that soone as they offend him greuously,  
he should immediatly stryke them with hys  
moste terrible darte of vengeaunce: Al be it  
vnethe any houre passeth, that men deserue  
not some punishment.

The moste noble Emperours, which for  
theyr meryts receiued of the gentyls diuine  
honoures, vanquished the greate heartes of  
theyr mortall enmyes, in shewing mercye  
aboue mens expectation.

Iulius Cæsar, whiche in policie, eloquence,  
celeritie and prowesse, excelled all other ca-  
pitaynes, in mercye onely, surmounted him-  
selfe, that is to say, contrary to his owne af-  
fectes and determinate purposes, he not on-  
ly spared, but also receyued into tender fa-  
miliaritie his swozne enmyes. Wherefore,

if

if they discorne of his owne bloude and alliance had not traiterously slaine him, he had reigned long and prosperously.

But among many other examples of mercy, wherof the hystories of Rome do abound, there is one remembred by Seneca, whyche may be in the steede of a great number. Senec. de clementia

It was reported to the noble Emperour Octavius Augustus, that Lucius Cinna, whiche was sisters sonne to the great Pompey had imagined his death: Also that Cinna was appoynted to execute his feate: whiles the emperour was doing his sacrifice: Mercy shewed by Augustus vnto his enemy.

This report was made by one of the conspirators, and therewith diuers other things agreed: The olde hostilitie betwene the houses of Pompey & Caesar, the wilde and sedicious wytte of Cinna, wyth the place and tyme, where and when the emperour should be disfurnyshed of sernautes. No wonder though the Emperours minde wer vnquiet beinge in so peryllous conflict, considering on the one parte, that if he should put to deth Cinna, whych came of one of the moste noble and auncient houses of Rome, he shoulde euer lyue in dainger, vnlesse he should destroy all that noble familie, and cause the memory of them to bee vtterlye exterminate: whyche might not be brought to passe, without effusion of the bloude of persones innumerable, and also peryll of the subuersyon of the empyre, late pacified. On the other part, he

sen-



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consydered the immynent danger, that hys person was in: wherfoze nature stered him to prouide for his suretie, wherto he thought then to be none other remedy, but the death of his aduersary. To him being thus perplexed, came hys wife Liuia, the Emperesse, who said vnto him: Pleseth it you say to here a womans aduice: Do you as Whisitions becom to doe where their accustomed remedies proue not, they assaye the contrary. By seuerity yee haue hitherto nothing profited: proue therfore nowe, what mercede may aduayle you. Forgiue Cinna, hee is taken with the maynure, and may not nowe indomage you, profite hee maye muche to the increase of your renoune and perpetuall glozy. The Emperour reioyced to himselfe, that Cinna had founde such an aduocatrice, and geuing hir thanks, caused his counsaillours, which hee hadde sent for, to be countermaunded, and calling to him Cinna onely, commanded the chamber to be auoyded, & an other chaire to be set for Cinna, and that done, he saide in this maner to him: I desire of thee this one thing, & whyles I speake, thou wylt not let or disturbe me: or in the myds of my words make any exclamation.

What time Cinna, I founde thee in the hoaste of myne ennimyes, althoughe thou were not by any occasion made myne enemye, but by succession from thin auncesters bozne myne enemye, I not onely saued thee  
but

but also gaue vnto thee all thine inheritāce:  
And at this day thou art so prosperous and  
ryche, that they, whiche hadde with me vic-  
tory, doe enuie thee, that were vanquished.

Thou askeddest of me a spirituall promoci-  
on, and forthwith I gaue it thee befoze ma-  
ny other, whose parentes had serued mee in  
warres. And for that I haue done so much  
for thee, thou haste nowe purposed to slea  
me. At that worde, when Cinna cryed out,  
saying: that such madnesse was farre from  
his mynde, Cinna (said the Emperour) thou  
kepest not promise, it was couenanted, that  
thou shouldest not interrupte me: I say thou  
prearest to kill me. And therto Theperour  
named his companions, the place, time, and  
order of al the conspyracy, and also to whome  
the swoorde was committed. And when hee  
perceiued hym astonyed, holding than hys  
peace, not for bicause that he so promised, but  
that his consyence him moued. For what  
intent diddest thou thus, (sayde Augustus)  
because thou wouldest be Emperour? In  
good fayth, the publique weale is in an euill  
estate, if nothing letteth thee to reygne, but  
I onely. Thou canst not maynteine or de-  
fende thine owne house. It is not long since  
that thou in a priuate iudgement were ouer-  
comen of a pooze man, but late infranchy-  
sed. Therfore thou maiest nothing do lyght-  
lier, than pleade against the Emperour. Say  
now, do I alone let thee of thy purpose: sup-  
posest

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polest thou that Paule, Fabius Maximus, the Cosses, and Seruilijs, aunciente houses of Rome, and suche a sorte of noble men (not they which haue baine and glozious names, but such as for their merits be adozned with their proper images) wil suffer thee: finally said the Emperour (after that he had talked with him by y<sup>e</sup> space of two houres) I giue to thee thy life Cinna the second time: fyrst being mine enemye, nowe a traytour & murderer of thy soueraine lord, whō thou oughtest to loue as thy father. Now fro this day let amitie betweene vs two beginne, and let vs both contende, whether I with a better heart haue giue to thee thy life, or that thou canst moze gently recompence my kindnesse.

So after Augustus gaue to Cinna the dignitie of consull vndesired, blaiminge him, that hee durst not aske it, whereby hee hadde him most assured and loyalle. And Cinna afterwarde dying gaue to the Emperour all his goods and possessions. And neuer after was Augustus in daunger of any treason.

What sufficient praise may bee giuen to thys most noble and prudent Emperour, that in a chamber alone, without menne, or denaunce, or weapon, and perchaunce wpyth out harneys, with-in the space of ij. houres, with wordes wel touched, tēpered with modestie, not onely vanquished and subdued one mortal enemy, which by a malignitie engendred of a domesticall hatred, had determined



to flea him, but by y<sup>e</sup> same feate excluded out of the whole citie of Rome all displeasure & rancour towarde him, so that there was not left any occasion, whereof might proceede any little suspicion of treason, whiche otherwise could not haue hapned without slaughter of people innumerable.

Also the Emperesse Liua, may not of right be forgotten, whiche instructed to hir Lord that noble counsaile in suche a perplexitie, whereby he saued both himseife and his people. Suppose yee that all the Senatours of Rome, and counsaylours of the Emperour, whiche were lyttle fewer then a thousande, coulde haue better aduysed hym: This hy-story therefore is no lesse to be remembred of women then of prynces, taking thereby comfort to perswade sweetely their hous bandes to mercy and patience, to whiche counsaile onely they should be admitted and haue free libertie. But I shall forbere to speake moze of Liua now, for as muche as I purpoe to make a booke onely for ladyes, wherein hir laude shalbe moze amply expressed. But to resort now to mercy.

Surely nothing moze entierly and fastlye ioyne the heartes of subiectes to theyr prince or soueraygne, then mercy and gentylnes. For Seneca saith a temperate dread represseth high & sturby mindes: feare frequent and sharpe, set forth with extremitie, stereth men to presumption and hardynesse,

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and constreygneth them to experiment all thinges. He that hastily punisheth, oft tymes sone repenteth. And who that ouer much correcteth, obserueth none equitie. And if yee aske me what mercede is, it is a temperaunce of the minde of him, that hath power to be auenged, and it is called in latyn Clementia, and is alway ioynd with reason. For hee that for euery lyttle occasion is moued with compassion, and beholding a man punished condygnely for his offence, lamenteth or wayleth, is called pitious, which is a sicknesse of the minde, wherewith at this daye the moze part of men be diseased. And yet is the sicknesse muche worse by adding to one worde, calling it vaine pitie.

Some men perchance will demaunde of me, what is vaine pitie? To that I will answer in a discription of dayly experience.

Vaine pitie

**B**eholde what an infinite number of englyshemen and women, at this present time, wander in all places through out this Realme, as beastes brute and sauage, abandoninge all occupacion, seruice, and honesty. Howe many seemely personages, by outrage in riote gaminge, and excesse of apparayle, be enduced to thefte & robbery, and somtyme to murder: to the inquietaton of good men, and finally to their owne destruction?

**N**ow consyder semblablye, what noble statutes, ordinaunces and actes of conusayle from time to time haue ben excogitate, and by  
by

by graue studie and mature consultacion,  
enacted and decreed, as well for due puny=  
shment of the sayde ydle personnes and va=  
cabundes, as also for the suppression of vn=  
lawfull games, and reducing of apparayle to  
conuenient moderaton and temperaunce?

How many proclamations therof haue bene  
diuulgate, and not obeied? How many com=  
missions directed, and not executed? (Marke  
well here, that disobedient subiectes, and  
negligent gouernoures, dooe frustrate good  
lawes.) A man hearing, that his neighbour  
is slaine or robbed, forthwith hateth the of=  
fendor, and abhorreth his enozmitie, thin=  
king him worthy to be punished, according  
to the lawes: yet when he beholdeth the trā=  
gressoz, a secinelye personage, also to be his  
seruant, acquaintance, or a gentleman borne,  
(I omytte now to speake of any other cor=  
ruption) he forthwith changeth his opinion,  
and preferreth the offendozs condicion or  
personage, befoze the example of iustice, con=  
demnyng a good and necessarye lawe, for to  
excuse an offence pernicious and damnable:  
ye and this is not onely done by the vulgar  
or common people, but much rather by them  
which haue authozitie to them committed  
concerning the effectuall execution of lawes.  
They beholde at their eye the continuall en=  
crease of vacaboundes, into infinite noum=  
bers, the obstinate resistance of thē that day=  
ly do transgresse the lawes made against ga=  
mes.



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mes, and apparayle, which bee the streight pathes to robbery, & semblable mischiefe: yet if any one commissioner, moued with zeale to his countrey, according to his duety, do execute duely, and frequently the lawe or good ordinaunce, wherein is anye sharpe punishment, some of his companions thereat reboyleth, infaming him to be a man without charitic, calling him secretly a pyke thanke or ambitious of glozy, and by such manner of obloquie, seeke meanes to bring him into the hatred of people. And this may be well called vaine pitie, wherein is contained neyther iustice, nor yet commendable charitic, but rather thereby ensueth negligence, contempte, disobedience, and finally all mischiefe and incurable miserie.

If this sicknesse had reygned among the olde Romaines, suppose ye that the estate of their publike weale had sixe hundred yeares increased, and two hundred yeares continued in one excellent estate and wonderfull Magnificie? Or thinke ye that the same Romanes mought so haue ordred manye greate countreys, with fewer ministers of iustice, than be now in one shire of England?

But of that matter, and also of rigour and equalitie of punishment, I will treate more amplye in a place more propise for that purpose. And here I conclude to write any more at this time of mercy.

The

The principall partes of humanitie. Cap.8.

**T**he nature or condition of man, where-in he is lesse then God almightie, and excelling notwithstanding all other creatures in earth, is called humanitie, which is a general name to those pertues, in whome seemeth to be a mutuall concozd and loue, in the nature of man. And although there be manye of thy sayd vertues, yet be there thzee principal, by whom humanitie, is chiefly compact. Beneuolence, Beneficence, and Liberalitie, which maketh by the sayd principall vertue called Benignitie or gentlenesse.

Beneuolence, if it doe extende to a whole country or citie, is properly called charitie, & some time zeale: and if it concerne one person, than is it called Beneuolence: And if it be verye seruent, & to one singular person, then may it be named loue or amitie. Of that vertuous disposition proceedeth an act, whereby some thing is compiled, which is profitable and good to him that receiueh it. And that vertue, if it bee in operation, or (as I might say) endeavour: is called than Beneficence: & the deede (vulgarly named a good tourne) may be called a benefit. If it bee in money, or other thing that hath substance, it is than called liberalitie, which is not alway a vertue, as Beneficence is, for in well dooinge (which is the righte interpretation

Charitie.

Beneuolence.  
Loue.

Amitie.

Liberalitie.

D.iii.

tation

## The Gouvernour.

tation of Beneficence) can be no vice included. But Liberalitie, though it proceed of a free and gentle heart, willing to doe some thing thankfull, yet maye it transgresse the bondes of vertue, either in excessive rewards or expences, or els imploying treasure, promotion, or other substance on persons unworthy, or on thinges inconuenient, and of small importaunce. Albeit some thinke such manner of errogation not to bee worthy the name of Liberalitie.

A liberal  
man.  
Ethic. 2.

Aristotle defineth a lyberall man, which doth errogat, according to y<sup>e</sup> rate of his substance, & as opportunitie hapneth. He sayth also in the same place that liberalitie is not in the multitude or quantitie of that which is giuen, but in the habite or fashon of the giuer. For he giueth according to his habilitie. Neither Tully approueth it to be liberalitie, wherein is any mixture of auarice or pin: for it is not properly lyberalitie, to exact iniustlye, or by vyolence or craft to take goodes from perticular persons & distribute them in a multitude, or to take from many iniustly, and enrich there with one person or few. For as the same Authoz saith, the last precept concerning benefites or rewards is, to take good heeds, y<sup>e</sup> he contend not against equitie, neither that he byhold no iniury.

Now will I proceede seriously, and in a due forme to speake more particularlye of these thre vertues: Notwithstanding ther



is such affinity betwene beneficence and liberalitie, being alwayes a vertue, that they tende to one conclusion or purpose, that is to say: with a glad and free wil to giue to another, that thing, which he befoze lacked.

Of vvhat excellence Beneuolence is. Cap. 9.

**W**hen I remember, what incomparable goodnesse hath euer proceeded of this vertue beneuolence, mercifull God, what sweete flavour feelee I, pearcing my spirites, whereof both my soule and body to my thinking, doe conceiue such recreation, & it seemeth me to be in a Paradise, or other semblable place of incomparable delights and pleasures.

First, I behold the dignitie of that vertue, considering that God is there-by chiefly knowen & honozed, both of Angel and man. And contrariwise, the diuell is hated & reproued both of God and man for his malice, which vice is contrarious and repugnant to Beneuolence. Wherefoze with-out Beneuolence may be no god. For god is al goodnes, all charitie, all loue, which wholly be comprehended in the sayd word Beneuolence.

Now let vs see, where anye other vertue may be equall in dignitie with this vertue, Beneuolence: or if any vertue remaineth,

D.v.

where

## The Gouvernour.

where this is excluded? For what cometh of Prudence, where lacketh Beneuolence? but Disceit, rauine, auarice and tyzanny.

What of Fortitude? but beastly crueltie, oppression, and effusion of bloud. What Justice may ther be with out beneuolence? since the first or chiefe portion of iustice (as Tully sayth) is to endamage no man, vnlesse thou be wrongfully vexed. And what is the cause heere-off, but equall & entire loue, which being remoued or ceasing, who endeauoureth not him-selfe to take from an other all thing that he coueteth, or for euery thing that discontenteth him, wold not forth-with be auenged: wherby he confoundeth the vertue called Temperance, which is the moderatrice, as well of al motions of the minde, called affects, as of all acts proceeding of man.

Heere it sufficiently appeareth (as I suppose) of what estimation Beneuolence is. Now will I endeauour mee to recreate the spirites of the diligent reader, with some delectable histories, wher-in is anye noble remembraunce of this vertue Beneuolence, that the worthines theroff may appeare in a more plaine declaration. For in euery discipline example is the best instructour. But first I will aduertise the reader that I will now write of Beneuolence onelye, which is most vniuersal, wherein is equalitie without singular affection or acceptaunce of persons.

And

And heere it is to be noted, that if a gouernour of a publike weale, iudge, or any other Minister of iustice, do giue sentence against one that hath transgressed the lawes, or punisheth him according to the qualtye of his trespassse: Beneuolence there-by is not anye thing perished, for the condemnation or punishment, is either to reduce him that erreth into y<sup>e</sup> traine of vertue, or to preserve a multitude from damage by putting in<sup>e</sup> in feare, that be prone to offende, dreading the sharpe correction, that they beholde an other to suffer. And that manner of seueritie is touched by the Prophet Dauid in the fourth psalme, saying in this wise, be you angrye, and looke that you sinne not. And Tully saythe in his first booke of Officio: It is to be wished, y<sup>e</sup> they, which in the publyke weale haue anye authority, maye be lyke to the lawes which in correcting he led onely by equitie, and not by wra<sup>th</sup> or displeasure.

That iustice neuer lacke beneuolence,

Sharpnes of iustice,

And in that manner when Chore, Dathan, Abiron, mooued sedition against Moses, hee prayed God y<sup>e</sup> the earth might open & swallow them, considering y<sup>e</sup> the fury of the people, might not bee by anye other meanes aswaged, neither they kept in due rule or obedience.

Helias, the holy Prophet of God, did with his owne hands put to death the Priests of the Idol of Baal, yet ceased he not with fasting prayng, longe and tedypous pilgrimages,

Helias.



## The Gouvernour.

enages, to pacifie the displeasure that God tooke against the people of Israel. But to returne to beneuolence.

Moses being lyghtly entertained with Pharaos kyng of Egypte, and so much in his fauour, by the meanes of the kynges syster, that (as Iosephus saith) he being made captaine of a huge army, was sent by Pharaos agaynst the Ethiopians or Moozes, where he made such exployture, that he not onely atchieued his enterpryse, but also had geuen vnto him for his prowesse, the kynges daughter of Ethiopia to be his wife, with great abundance of riches. And also for his endeuour, prowesse and wisdom, was much esteemed by Pharaos, and the nobles of Egypte: so that hee mought haue lyued there continually in much honour and wealth, if he would haue preferred his singular auaille, before the vniuersal weale of his owne kynred or familie. But he enflamed with feruent beneuolence or zeale towardes them, to redeme them out of their miserable bondage, chose rather to be in the dangerous indignation of Pharaos, then to commit his person to the changeable mindes of a multitude, and they moste vnstable, to passe great and long iournes through desertes, replenished with wylde beastes and venemous serpentes, to suffer extreme hunger and thyrste, lacking oftentimes not only bytaye, but also freshe water to drinke: than to bee in a place of  
Pha-

Pharao, where he shoulde haue ben satisfied with honour, ryches, and ease, and all other thinges pleasant.

who that redeth the booke of Exodi, shall fynde the charitie of this man wonderfull. For when almighty God, beinge greuoulye moued with the childezen of Israel, for theyr ingratitude: for as much as they oftentimes murmured against him, and vneith mighte be kept by Moyse from ydolatrie, hee sayde to Moyse: That hee would destroye them vtterly, and make hym ruler of a much greater & better people. But Moyse benninge in a meruailous charitie towardses them, saide to God: This people good Lord, haue most greuoulye sinned, yet eyther forgieue them this trespasse, or if ye doe not, stryke me cleane out of y booke that he wzate. And dyuers other times he importunately cryed to God for the safegarde of them, not withstandinge that manye tymes the concluded to haue slaine hym, if hee had not beene by his wisdom, and specially by the power of God preserved.

But peraduenture some whiche seeke for stertering holes to mainteine their byces, will object, saying: that Moses was a holy prophet, and a person elect by predestynation, to deliuer the childezen of Israel out of captiuitie, which hee coulde not haue done if hee had not beene of such pacience and charitie. Therfore let vs see what examples of sem-

blable

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blable beneuolence wee can finde among the gentiles, in whome was no vertue inspyzed, but that only which natural reason enduced.

Facience.

When a furious and wylfull younge man in a sedition, had striken out one of the eyes of King Licurgus, the people woulde haue slayne hym, and the king woulde not suffer them, but had him home to his house, and by suche wise meanes corrected the younge man, that at the last he brought him to good maners and wisdom.

Also the same Licurgus, to the intent that the effect of his beneuolence, toward the common weale of his countrey might persiste and continue, and that his excellent lawes, being stablished, shoulde neuer be alterate, he dyd let sweare al his people: that they should change no part of his lawes, vntill hee were returned, sayning to them, that he would goe to Delphos, where Appollo was chieflie honoured, to consult with that God, what seemed to him to bee added to, or mynyshed of those lawes, which also hee seyned to haue receiued of the saide Appollo. But finally he went into the Isle of Crete, where hee continued and dyed, commaunding at his death, that his bones should be cast into the sea, lest if they were brought into Lacedemonia hys countrey, the people should thinke them self of their oth and promise discharged.

Codrus  
king of  
Athens.

Semblable loue Codrus the last kinge of Athens, had to his countrey. For where the people



people called Dorez, whome some thinke to be nowe Cicilians, would aduenge their old grudges against & Atheniēses, they demaūded of some of their goddes, what successe should happen, if they made any warres. Charitis

Unto whom answer was made, that if they slew not the king of Atheniēses, they should then haue the victoꝝy. When they came to the fielde, strapte cōmaundement was giuen among them, that aboue all thinge, they should haue good awayte of the kinge of Athenes, which at that time was Codrus.

But hee befoze knowing the answere made by the Dorez, and what commaundement was giuen to the army, dyd put of his princely habite oz robes, and in apparayle all ragged and rente, carpyng on his necke a bundell of twigges, entred into the hoaste of hys enemyes, and was slayne in the pꝛease by a souldiour, whome hee wounded with a hoke purposely. But whan it was perceiued and knowen to bee the cozpes of Kinge Codrus, the Dorez all dismayed departed from the fielde, without pꝛoseryng battayle. And in this wise the Atheniēses, by the vertue of their most beneuolent king, who for & saufe garde of hys countrey, willyngly dyed, were clerely deliuered from battaile.

O noble Codrus, howe worthy had you bene, if God had bene pleased, to haue aboden the reparation of mankinde, that in the habite and religion of a chꝛysten pꝛince, wee might

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mought haue shewed your wonderfull benenolence and courage for the safegarde of Chyisten men, and to the noble example of other princes?

Curtius.

Curtius, a noble knight of the Romamans, hadde no lesse loue to his countrey than Codrus. For soone after the beginninge of the citie, there hapned to be a great earth quake, and after there remayned a great dell or pyt with-out bottome, whiche to beholde was horryble and lothsome, and out of it proceeded suche a dampe or ayze, that corrupted all the cytie with pestilence. Wherefore when they had counsayled with such ydols as they than worshipped, aunswere was made, that the earth shoulde not close, vntill there were into it the most precious thing in the citie. Which aunswere receyued, there was thowen in ritche iewelless of golde and precious stone: but all auayled not. At the laste Curtius, being a younge and goodly gentyll man, consydering that no ritcheesse thowen in, prosyted, synally coniected, that the lyfe of man, was aboue all thinges most precious, to the intente the residue of the people might bee saued by his onelye death, hee armed himselfe at all poyntes, and syttinge on a courser with his swerde in his hande redy drawen with a valiaunte and fyerse courage enforced his horse to leape into the del or pit, and forthwith it ioyned together, and closed, leauing onelye a sygne where the pytte was,

was, which longe after was called Curtius lake.

I passe ouer the two Decius; Marcus Regulus, and many other Princes and noble menne, that for the weale of their countrey dyed willingly. And nowe will I speake of such as in many other formes haue declared their beneuolence.

Xenophon the condisciple of Plato, wrote the life of Cyrus kyng of Persia, most cle-  
gantly, wherein he expresseth the figure of an  
excellent gouernour or capitayn: he sheweth  
there, that Cresus kinge of Lidia, whome  
Cyrus hadde taken prysoner, subdued hys  
countrey, and possessed his treasure, saide on  
a time to Cyrus, when hee behelde hys libe-  
ralitie: That such largesse as he vsed should  
bring him in pouertie, where if hee lysted,  
hee mighte accumulate by treasure incom-  
parable. Than Cyrus demaunded of Cresus,  
what treasure supplie ye shuld I now haue  
if during the time of my reygne, I woulde  
haue gathered and kept money, as ye exhort  
mee to doe? Than Cresus named a greate  
summe. Well sayd Cyrus, sende ye some man  
whome yee best truste, with Histaspas my ser-  
uant. And thou Histaspas, goe aboute to my  
friendes, & shewe them, that I lacke gold to-  
ward a certeine busynes: wherefore I wll,  
they send me as much as they can, & that they  
put it in writynge, and sende it sealed by the  
seruant of Cresus. In the same wise Cyrus

The poe  
uer of  
beneuolence



## The Gouvernour,

wrote in a letter, and also that they shuld receiue Histaspas as his counsaillour & friende, and sente it by him. Histaspas, after that he had done the message of Cyrus, and was returned with the seruant of Cresus, who brought letters from Cyrus friendes, he said to Cyrus, O sir, from henceforth looke that ye take me for a man of great substance. For I am hyghly rewarded with many great giftes for bringing your letters. Then Cyrus, at the houre appointed, lad with him king Cresus into his campe, saying to him: nowe beholde here is our treasure: accounte if ye can, howe muche money is redy for me: if I haue neede of any to occuppe. Whan Cresus behelde, and reckened the innumerable treasure, whiche in sundry partes were layde about the paviilion of Cyrus, he founde muche more than he saide to Cyrus, that he shoulde haue in his treasure, if hee him selfe had gathered and kept it. And whē al appered sufficiently, Cyrus than saide: Howe thinke you Cresus, haue I not treasure? And ye coulsailed me, that I shuld gather and kepe money, by occasion wherof I should be enuied & hated of my people. And moreouer put my trust to seruantes hyzed to haue rule thereof. But I do all otherwise, for in making my friendes ritche, I take them all for my treasure, & haue them more sure & trusty keepers, both of me and my substance, than I should do those whome I must trust onely for their wages.

Lozde

Lord God what a notable history is this, and worthy to be grauen in tables of golde: considering the vertue and power of beneuolence therein expressed. For the beneuolent mynde of a gouernour, not onely byndeth the heartes of y<sup>e</sup> people vnto him, with the chaine of loue, moze stronger then any materiall bonds, but also gardeth moze safely his person then any toure or garison.

The eloquent Tully saith in his offices, a lyberall heart is cause of beneuolence, although perchaunce power sometime lacketh, contrarywyse, hee saith: They that desire to be feared, needs must they dread the, of who they be feared. Off. iiii.

Also Plini the younger sayeth, hee that is not enuygoned with charitie, in vaine is hee garded with terror, since armure with armure is stered. Whych is ratified by the most grane Philosopher Seneca, in his booke of mercy, that hee wrote to Nero, wher he saith: He is much deceyued, that thinketh a man to be sure, where nothing from him can be safe. For with mutuall assurance, suretie is obteyned. In panis gerico.

Antoninus Pius, Emperour of Rome, so much tendred the beneuolence of his people, that whan a greate number hadde conspyred treason against him, the seditate beinge therewith grinoussly moued, endeououred them to punish the said conspiratours, but the emperour caused the examination to cease. sayings De clemencia. Antoninus Pius.

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I should not neede to seeke to busily for the that entendeth suche myschiefe, leaste if they founde many, he shoulde knowe, that many hated him. Also whā the people, for as much as on a time they lacked corne in their granaries, woulde haue slaine him with stones, rather then he woulde haue the sedicious persons to be punished, in his owne person declared to them the occasion of the scarcitie, wherewith they being pacified, euerye man helde him contented.

King  
Philip.

I hadde almoste forgotten a notable and woorthy remembraunce of king Philippe, father to great king Alexander. It was on a time to him reported, that one of his captaines had menacing wordes towards him, wherby it semed he intended some damage towards hys person. Wherefore hys counsaile aduyced him, to haue good awayte of the sayd capitaine, and that he were put vnder ward. To whom the king answered, if any part of my body were sicke, or els sore, whether shoulde I therfore cut it from the residue, & cast it from me or els endeuour my selfe, that it might bee healed? And than hee called for the saide capitaine, and so entertayned him with familiaritie and bounteous rewards, that euer after he had him moze assured and loyal, than euer he was.

Agelilaus.

Agelilaus, King of Lacedimonia, to hym that demaunded howe a king mighte moste surely gouerne hys realme, wythout souldiers



dionys of a garde to his person, answered,  
If he reigned ouer his people, as a Father  
both ouer his children.

The thirte  
tirantes of  
Athens.

The Citie of Athens, from whence issued  
all excellent doctrine and wisdom, during  
the time that it was gouerned by those per-  
sons, vnto whom the people might haue a fa-  
miliar accesse, & boldly expound their griefes  
and damages, prospered meruailously, and  
during a long season reigned in honour and  
weale. Afterwarde the Lacedemons, by the  
mutabilitie of Fortune, vanquished them  
in battaile, & committed the citie of Athens,  
to the keeping of xxx. of their own captiues,  
which wer for their pride and auarice called  
Tyzants. But now see how lyttle suretie is  
in great number of strength, where lacketh  
beneuolence. These xxx. Tyzants wer con-  
tinually enuyzoned with sundry garisons of  
armed men which was a terrible bylage to  
people that befoze lyued vnder the obedience  
of their lawes onely. Finally the Athenien-  
ses by feare being put from their accustomed  
accesse to their Gouernours to require Ju-  
stice, and there with beeing fatigate as  
menne oppzessed with continuall iniurye,  
tooke to them a desperate courage, and in  
conclusion, expelled out of the Citie all the  
sayd Tyzants, and reduced it into hir prist-  
inate gouernaunce.

Puissance  
lacking be-  
neulence.

What miserie was in the lyfe of Dionise  
the Tyzant of Sicily? who knowing, that his

D.ij.

people

## The Gouvernour,

people desired his destruction, for his raine and crueltie, would not bee of any man shaven, but first caused his owne daughters, to clip his beard: And afterward also mistrusting them, hee himselfe with a burning coale seared the haire of his beard: and yet finally, was destroyed.

Alexander  
Phrygius.

In lyke wretchednesse was one Alexander, prince of a citie called Pherea: for he having an excellēt faire wife, not only excluded all men from his companye, but also as often as he would lye with her, certaine persons should goe before him with torches, and hee following with his sword redy drawen, would therewith enserche the bedde, coffers, and all other places of his chambre, least any man should be there hydd to him, to the entent to slea him. And that notwithstanding, by the procurement of his sayde wife (who at the laste fatigate with his moste foolish iealousie, converted his loue into hatred) he was slaine by his owne subiectes.

Now doth it appeare, that this reuerend vertue beneuolence, is of all men, most specially of gouernours and men of honour, incomparably before other, to be embraced.

The treasure of a gentle countenance, sweet answers, ayde in aduersitie, not with money onely, but also with studye and diligent endeauour, can neuer be wasted, neither the loue of good people ther-by acquired, can be from their hearts in any wise seperate. And  
heere

heere I make an ende to speake any moze at  
this time of Beneuolence.

Of Benificence and Liberalytie. Cap. 10.

**A**lthough Philosophers, in the de-  
scription of vertues, haue deuised to  
set them as it were in degrees, ha-  
uing respect to the qualitie and con-  
dition of the person, which is with them a-  
dozned, as applying magnificence is the sub-  
stance and estate of Princes, and to priuate  
persons, Benificence and Liberalitie: yet  
are not these in any parte defalcate of their  
condigne praises. For if vertue be an electio  
annexed vnto our nature, and consisteth in a  
meane, which is determined by reason, and  
that meane is the very middes of two things  
vicious, the one in surplusage, the other in  
lack, then needes must Benificence, and Li-  
beralitie be capital vertues, & Magnificence  
proceedeth from them, approching to the ex-  
treame parts and may be tourned into vyce,  
if he lacke the bydell of reason. But Benifi-  
cence can by no meanes be vicious, & retaine  
still his name. Semblable Liberalytie (as  
Aristotle sayeth) is a measure as well in gi-  
uing as in taking of money and goods. And  
he is only lyberall, which distributeth accor-  
ding to his substance, and where it is expedi-  
ent. Therfore he ought to consider to whom  
he should giue, how much, and when.

Aristotle.  
Ethico. 1.

Vertue  
what it is.

Benificence  
Liberalitie

Considera-  
cion in  
giuing.



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for lyberalitie taketh his name of the substance of y person, from whom it proceedeth, for it resteth not in the quantitie or qualitie of thinges that bee giuen, but in the naturall disposition of the giuer.

Alexander

The great Alexander on a time, after hee had vanquished Darius in a battaile, one of his souldiours brought vnto him the heade of an enimie that he hadde slayne, which the king thankefully, & with sweet countenance receiued, and taking a cup of gold filled with good wine sayd vnto the souldiour. In olden tyme a cup of gold was the rewarde of such vertue as thou hast shewed, which seemably thou shalt receiue. But when the souldiour for shamefastnesse refused the cup, Alexander added vnto it these wordes: The custome was to giue the cup empty, but Alexander giueth it to thee full of wine with good handsell.

Liberal.

where with he expressed his lyberal heart, and as much comforted the souldiour, as if he had giuen to him a great citie.

Moreouer, he that is lyberal, neglecteth not his substance or goodes, neither giueth it to all men, but vseth it so, as he may continually helpe therewith other, & giueth when, and where, and on whom it ought to be employed. Therfore it may be said, that he vsch every thing best, & exerciseth vertue, which is to the thing most appropriated.

For riches is of the number of thinges, that

may

may be either good or euill, which is in the arbitrement of the giuer. And for that cause Liberality and Benificence be of such assistance, that the one may neuer from the other be seuerate. For the employment of money, is not liberality, if it be not for a good ende or purpose.

The noble Emperours Antonine & Alexander Severus, gaue of the reuenues of the Empire innumerable substance, to the redifying of Cities and common houses decayed for age, or by earth quakes subuerbed, wherein they practised Liberality and also Benificence.

Alexander  
and liberall  
Antonine  
Emperours

But Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, and other semblable monsters, which exhausted & consumed infinit treasures in builded houses & places; where abominations were vsed: Also in enriching slaues, concubines, & handes, were not named liberal, but suffered therfore perpetuall reproach of writers, being called deuourers and wasters of treasure. Wherefore inasmuch as Liberality wholly resteth in the giuing of money, it sometime coloureth a vice: but Benificence is neuer taken but in the better part, & (as Tully saith) is taken out of vertue, where Liberality commeth out of the coffer.

Prodigality

Also where a man distributeth his substance to many persons, the lesse Liberality shal he vse to other: so with bounteousnes, bountie is diminished. Onely they that be cal-

## The Gouvernour.

ted beneficiall, and do vse the vertue of Beneficence, which consisteth in counsailling & helping other with any assistance, in time of neede, shall alway finde coadiutors and supporters of their gentle courage. And doubtlesse, that manner of gentlenesse: that consisteth in labour, studie, and diligence, is moze commendable, and extendeth further, & also may moze profite persons, then þ which resteth in rewardes and expences. But to retourne to lyberalitie.

**Prodigality** what a greater folly may be, then þ thing that a man most gladly doeth, to endeauour him with all study, that it may no longer be done: wherefoze Tully calleth them prodigall, that in inordinate feastes, and bankets, bayne playes and huntings do spend al their substance, & in those things, where-off they shall leaue but a shorthe or no remembraunce. wherefoze to resort to the counsaile of Aristotle before exprest: Liberalitie in a noble man specially is commended, although it some-what exceede the termes of measure: And if it be well and duely employed, it acquireth perpetuall honour to the giuer, and much fruite and singular commoditie thereby encrease. For where honestie and vertuous personages be aduanced, and wel rewarded, it stirreth þ courages of men, which **Cicer. off. 1.** haue any sparke of vertue, to encrease therein with all their force and endeauour.

Wherefoze nexte to the helping and relieving



ping of a communalitie, the greater parte of Liberalitie is to be employed on men of vertue and good qualities, wher-in is required to be a good election and iudgement, that for hope of reward or fauor, vnder the cloake of vertue, be not hid the most mortall poyson of flatterie.

The true description of amitie or friendship. Cap. iij.

I haue already treated of Beniuolence, and Benificence generally. But forasmuch as friendship, called in Latin, Amicitia, comprehendeth both those vertues more specially, & in an higher degree, and is now so infrequent or strange among mortall men by the tyranny of conetousnesse or ambition, which haue long reigned, and yet doe, that amitie maye now vnneth be knowen, or founde throughout the world, by them that seeke for hir as diligently as a mayden wold seeke for a smal siluer pinne, in a great chamber strawed with white rushes.

I wil therfore borrow so much of the gentle reader, though he be nigh wery of this long matter, baraine of eloquence and pleasant sentence, and declare some-what by the waye of very a true frienship: which perchance may be an allectiue to good men to seeke for their semblable, on whome they maye practise Amitie. For as Tully saythe, Nothing is  
more

## The Governour.

more to be loved, or to bee ioyned together, than similitude of good manners or vertues: wher-in be the same or semblable studies, the same willes or desires: in them is hapneth, that one in an other as much velyreth as in himselfe. What now lette vs searche, what friendship or amitie is.

Aristotle saith: Friendship is a vertue, or ioyne with vertue. Which is affirmed by Tully, saying; Friendship can not be without vertue, neither but in good men onely. Who be good men, hee after declareth, to bee those persons, which so do beare the selues, and in suche wise doe lyue, that their faythe, suretie, equalitie and lyberalitie bee sufficiently proved. Neither that there is in them any couetousnesse, wilfulnesse or foole-hardinesse, and that in them is great stabilitie or constance, then suppose I, as they be taken, to be called good men, which doe followe, as much as men may. Nature the chiefe captaine or guyde of mans life. Whoe ouer, the same Tully defineth friendship in this manner, saying. It is none other thing but a perfect consent of all things appertaining as wel to god as to man, with Benenolence and Charitie. And that he knoweth nothing giuen of God, except sapience to man more commodious. Which definition is excellent and very true. For in God and all thing that cometh of God, nothing is of more greater estimation, than Loue, called in Latin, Amor, where

whereof Amicitia commeth, named in Englyshe Friendshippe or amitie: the which taken awaye from the life of man, no house shall abide standyng, no felde shall be in culture. And that is lyghtly perceined, if a man doe remember what commeth of dissention & disorde: fynally he seemeth to take the Sun from the worlde that taketh friendship from mans life.

Since friendship can not bee but in good men, ne may not be without vertue, we may bee assured, that thercof none euill may proceede, or therewith any euill thing may participate. Wherefore in as much as it may bee but in a fewe persones, (good men beinge in a small number.) And also it is rare and seldome, as all vertues bee commonly, I wyll declare, after the opinyon of Philosophers, and partely by commune experience, who amonge good men bee of nature most apt to Friendship.

Betweene all men that be good, cannot alwaye bee Amptie: but it also requireth, that they be of semblable or muche like manners or study, and specyally of manners. For grauitie and affabilitie, bee euerye of them laudable qualities. So bee Seueritie and Placabilitie. Also Magnificence and liberalitie be noble vertues: And yet Frugalitie which is a sobernesse or moderation in liuinge, is and that for good cause of all wyse men excelled: yet where these vertues and qualities,



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ties be separatly in sundry personnes assembled, may well bee perfect conoord, but friendship is there seldome or neuer. For y<sup>e</sup> whiche one for a vertue embraceth, the other contemneth, or at the least neglecteth. Wherefore it seemeth, that it, wherein the one delyzeth, is repougnant to the others Nature: And where is any repougnance, may bee none Amitie, since friendship is an entire consent of wylles and desyres. Therefore it is seldome seene, that friendship is betweene these persones: A man sturde, of oppynion inflexible, and of slowe countenance & spech: with him that is tractable, and with reason perswaded, and of sweete countenance and entertaynement. Also betweene hym, whiche is eleuate in authoritie, and an other of a verie base estate or degree: yea and if they bee bothe in an equall dygnitie, if they be desyrous to clumbe, as they doe ascende, so friendship for the more parte decayeth. For as Tully sayth in his first booke of Offices: What thyng so euer it be, in the which many cannot excell, or haue therein superiouritie, there in oftentimes is such a contention, that it is a thinge of all other most difficile, to kepe among them good or vertuous company: that is as muche to saye, as to retayne among them friendship and Amitie. And it is oftentimes seene, that dyuers, which before they came in authoritie, were of good and vertuous conditions, being in their prosperitie

spiritie were vtterly chaunged, and despising their olde friendes, set all their study and pleasure on their new acquaintaunce. wherein men shall perceiue to be a wonderfull blindness or (as I might say) a madnesse, if they note diligently all that I shall her-after write of friendship. But nowe to resorte to speake of them, in whom friendship is most frequent and they also ther-to be most aptely disposed.

Undoubtedly it is specially they, which be wyle, and of nature enclined to Beneficence, Liberalitie, and Constancie. For by wisdom is marked and substantially decerned the words, actes, and demeanure of all men, betweene whome happeneth to be any entercourse or familiaritie, whereby is engendred a fauour or disposition of loue. Beneficence, that is to say, mutually putting to their studye and helpe in necessary affayres, induceth loue. They that be lyberall, doe with-holde or hide nothinge from them, whome they loue, whereby loue encreaseth. And in them that be constant is neuer mistrust or suspicion, or any surmise or euill reporte can with-drawe them from their affection. And hereby friendship is made perpetuall and stable. But if similitude of studye or learninge bee ioyned vnto the saide vertues, friendship muche rather happeneth, and the mutual enteruewe and conuersation is much moze pleasaunt, specially if the studies haue in them any delectable affection or motion:

## The Gouvernour.

For where they be to serious, or full of contention, friendship is oftentimes assaulted, where by it is often in perill. Where the study is elegant, and the matter illecebrous, that is to say, swete to the reader: the course wherof is rather gentil perswasio and quicke reasonings, than ouer subtyll argumente or litigious controuersies: there also it happeneth, that the students doe delite one in another, and be without enuy or malicious contention.

Nowe let vs try out, what is that friendship, that we suppose to be in good men. Verily it is a blessed and stable conexion of sundry wylles, makynge of two persons one, in hauing and suffryng. And therefore a friende is properly named of Philosophers, the other I. For that in them is but one mynde and one possession: and that, whiche moze is, a man moze reioyceth at his friends good fortune, than at his owne.

Horestes and Pylades being wonderfull like in all features, were taken together, and presented vnto a Tyranne, who deadly hated Horestes. But when hee behelde them bothe, and woulde haue slayne Horestes only, hee coulde not decerne the one from the other: And also Pylades to delpuer his frind, affirmed that hee was Orestes: on the other parte Orestes, to saue Pylades, denyed, and saide, that hee was Orestes (as the trouthe was.) Thus a long tyme they together contented



tendinge the one to dye for the other, at the last so relented the fierce and cruell heart of the tyran, that woundering at their meruaylous friendship, he suffered them frely to departe, without doing to them any damage.

Pitheas &  
Damon.

Pitheas and Damon, two Pythagoryens, that is to saye, Studentes of Pythagoras learning, being ioynd together in a perfecte friendship: for that one of them was accused to haue conspired agaynst Dionile Kinge of Sicile, they were bothe taken and broughte to the king, who immediatly gaue sentence, that he that was accused, shoulde bee put to death. But he desired the king, that ere hee dyed, hee moughte retourne home, to set his heuseholde in order, and to dystribute hys goodes. wherewith the kinge laughynge, demaunded of him skornefully, what pledge he wold leaue him, to come again. At the which wordes, his companion stept forth and saide, that he woulde remaine there as a pledge for his friend, that in case he came not againe, at the day appointed, he willinglye woulde lose his heade. whiche condytion the tyrannie receiued. The younge man, that shoulde haue dyed, was suffered to departe home to hys house, where he dyd set all thing in order, and disposed his goodes wisely. The day appointed for his retourne was comen, the tyme muche passed. wherfore the kynge called for hym that was pledge. who came forth merrily, without semblaunt of drede, offryng to

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abpyde the sentence of the tyzanne and wyth-  
out grudgynge, to dye for the sauinge the lyfe  
of his friende . But as the officer of iustice  
hadde closed his eyen with a kerchiefe, and  
had drawen his swerde , to haue stryken off  
his head, his fellowe came running & crying,  
that the daye of hys appointment was not  
yet paste: wherefoze he despyzed the minister  
of iustice to lose his fellowe, and to pze-  
pare to doe execution on hym , that hadde giuen  
the occasion. Where at the tyzanne being al  
abashed, commaunded bothe to bee broughte  
to his pze-  
sence, and whan hee had ynough  
wondzed at their noble heartes, and their cō-  
stance in very friendship, he offeryng to them  
great rewardes, desired them to receiue him  
into their company, and so doing them much  
honour, did let them at lybertie.

Undoubtedly that friendship, which doth  
depende either on pzo-  
fite, or els on pleasure,  
if the habilitie of the person, whyche mought  
bee pzo-  
fitable, doe faile or diminishe, or  
the disposition of the person, whiche  
shoulde be pleasant, doe chaunge  
or appayze, the feruentnesse  
of loue cesseth, and  
than is there  
no friend-  
shyp.

The

**T**he wonderfull history of Titus and Gissippus, and whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect amitie. Cap. 12.

**B**ut now in the middes of my labour as it were to pause and take bꝛeth, and also to recreate the readers, which fatigate with lōg pꝛecepts, desire varietie of matter, or some new pleasant fable of historie. I will reherse a right goodly example of friendship, whiche example studiously red, shall minister to the readers singuler pleasure, and also incredible comfort to pꝛactise amitie.

There was in the citie of Rome a noble senator, named Fuluius, who sent his sonne called Titus, beinge a chylde, to the Citie of Athens in Greece (which was the fountayne of al manner of doctrine) ther to learne good letters: and caused him to bee hestred wyth a worshipfull man of that citie, called Chremes. This Chremes happened to haue also a sonne named Gissippus, who not onely was equall to the said young Titus in yeares, but also in stature, proportiō of body, fauour, and colour of visage, countenaunce and speache. The two childꝛē were so lyke, that without muche difficultie it coulde not be decerned of their proper parentes, whiche was Titus from Gissippus, or Gissippus from Titus. These two young gentlemen, as they seemed to be one in form & personage, so shortly after acquaintance, the same nature wrought in

D. ij.

their



## The Gouvernour.

their heartes such a mutual affection, & their willes and appetites daily more and more so cōfederated them selues, that it semed none other, when their names were declared, but that they had onely chaunged their places, issuing (as I mought say) out of the one body, & entring into the other. They together, and at one time went to their lerning & study, at one time, to their meales and refection, they delyted both in one doctrine, and profyted equally therein, fynally, they together increased in doctrine, that within a fewe yerres, fewe within Athenes might bee compared vnto them. At the laste dyed Chremes, whiche was not onely to his sonne, but also to Titus cause of much sozrowe & heuinesse. Gisippus, by the goodes of his father, was knowen to be a man of great substāce: wherefoze there were offered to him great and ritch mariages. And he thā being of rype yerres, & of an hable and goodly personage. His frēds, kynne, and alies, exhorted him busilie to take a wife, to the intent hee might encrease hys lignage and progenye. But the young man, hauing his heart alredy wedded to his frend Titus, and his mynde fixed to the studie of philosophy, fearing that marriage shoulde bee the occasion to scuer hym bothe from the one and the other, refused of longe tyme to bee perswaded, vntyll at the laste, partlye by the importunate callynge one of his kynsmen, partelye by the consente and aduice of hys  
bere

deere friend Titus, therto by other desired, he assented to marye such a one as shoulde lyke him. what shal neede any words? his friends found a young gentlewoman, which in equalitye of yeres, vertuous conditions, nobilitie of bloud, beautie, and sufficient riches, they thought was for such a young man apte and conuenient. And when they & hir friends vpon the couenants of marriage wer thoroughly accorded, they counsayled Gisippus to repaire vnto the mayden, and to beholde howe hir person contented him: And he so doing, founde hir in euery forme and condition, according to his expectation & appetite, wher-at he much reioyced, and became of hir amorous, insomuch as many and oftentimes leauing Titus at his studie, hee secretly repayed vnto hir. Notwithstanding the seruent loue that hee had to his freend Titus, at the last surmounted shamefastnesse. wherfore he disclosed to him his secret iourneyes, & what delectation he toke in beholding the excelent beautie of hir whom he intended to mary, & how with hir good manners & sweete entertainment, shee had constrained him to bee hir louer. And on a time, hee hauing with him his friend Titus, went to his lady, of whome he was receiued most ioyously.

But Titus forth-with as hee behelde so heauently a personage, adozned with beautie inexplicable, in whose bysage was a most amiable countenaunce, mixt with maydenlye

## The Gouvernour.

Shame-fastnes, and the rare and sober words  
and wel couched, which issued out of his pre-  
tie mouth. Titus was there-at abashed, and  
had the heart through pearced with the fire  
darte of blynde Cupide, of the which wound  
the anguish was so exceeding and vehement,  
that neither the study of Philosophy, neither  
the remembraunce of his deere friend Gissi-  
pus, who so much loued & trusted him coulde  
any thing withdraw him from that vnkinde  
appetite, but that of force he must loue inor-  
dinately that Lady, whom his sayde friende  
had determined to marrye. Albeit with incre-  
dible paines he kept his thoughts secret vn-  
til that he and Gissippus, were retourned vn-  
to their lodgings. Then the miserable Ti-  
tus, with drawing him as it wer to his stu-  
dye, all toymented and oppzessed with loue,  
threw him-selfe on a bed, and there rebuking  
his owne most despitiful vnkindenes, which  
by the sodeine sight of a maiden, hee had con-  
spired against his most dere friend Gissippus,  
against al humanitie & reson, cursed his fate  
or constellation, & wished that hee had neuer  
comen to Athens. And ther-with he sent out  
from the bottome of his heart deepe and cold  
sighs, in such plentie, that it lacked but little  
that his heart was not riven in peeces. In  
dolour & anguish tossed he him-self by a cer-  
tein space, but to no man would hee discouer  
it. But at the last, the paine became so intol-  
erable, that would he or no, he was so infoz-  
ced



ced, to keepe his bed, being for lacke of sleepe and other naturall sustenance, brought in such feblenes, that his legs might not sustein his body: Gylippus missing his deere friende Titus, was much abashed, and hearing that he lay sicke in his bed, had forth-with his heart perced with heauines, & with al speede came to him, where he laye. And beholdinge the rosiall colour, which was wont to bee in his vyface, touned into fallowe, the residue pale, his ruddy lyps wan, & his eyen leady & hollow, might vnneth keepe him-selſe from weeping: but to the intent he would not discomfort his friend Titus, dissimuled his heuiness, & with a comortable countenance demaunded of Titus, what was the cause of his disease, blaming him of unkindnes, that he so longe had sustained it, with-out giuing him knowledge, that he might for him haue prouided some remedye, if anye might haue ben gotten, though it were with the dispendyng of all his substance. With which wordes the mortall sighes renued in Titus, and the salt teares burst out of his eyen in suche haboundaunce, as it had ben a lande floud running downe of a mountaine after a stozme.

That beholding Gylippus, and being also resolued into teares, most hartely desired him, and (as I might say) conured him, for the seruent and entire loue that had ben, and yet was betweene them, that he would no longer hide from him his grieve, and that there was

Nothing.

nothing

## The Gouvernour,

nothing to him so deere and precious (although it were his owne lyfe) that mought restore Titus to health, but that hee shoulde gladly, and with-out grutching employe it, with which words, obrestations and teares of Gissippus, Titus constraind, all blushing & ashamed, holding down his head, brought forth with great difficultie his wordes in this wise.

The vvords  
of Titus  
to Gissippus

My deere and most louing friende, withdraw your friendly offers, cease of your courtisie, refraine your teares and regreetinges, take rather your knife, and slaye mee heere where I lye, or other wise take vengeance on me, most miserable and false traytour vnto you, and of all other most worthy to suffer most shamefull death. For where as God of nature, lyke as hee hath giuen to vs similitude in all the parts of our body, so hath he conioyned our willes, studies and appetites together in one, so that betweene men was neuer lyke concozd and loue, as I suppose. And nowe notwithstanding, onely with the looke of a woman, those bonds of loue be dissolved, reason oppzessed, friendship is excluded, ther anayleth no wisdom, no doctrine, no fidelitie or trust: yea, your trust is the cause that I haue conspired against you this treason. Alas Gissippus, what enuious spirite mooued you to bringe mee to hir, whome ye haue chosen to be your wife, where I receiued this popso? I say Gissippus, wher was  
then

then your wisdom, that ye remembred not the fragilitye of our common Nature? what neede you to call mee for a witnesse of your private delyghts? why woulde ye haue mee see that, which you your selfe coulde not behold without ranshing of minde and carnal appetite? Alas, why forgotte yee, that our mindes and appetites were euer one? and that also what so ye lyked was euer to me in lyke degree pleasaunt. What will ye more?

Gisippus I say, your trust is the cause that I am intrapped. The rayes of beames issuing from the eyes of hir, whom ye haue chosen, with the remembraunce of hir incomparable vertues, hath thzilled thzough out the middes of my hart, and in such wise burneth it, that aboue all things I desire to bee out of this wretched and most vnrinde lyfe, which is not worthy the company of so noble and louing a friend as ye be. And therewith Titus concluded his confession, with so profound & bitter a sigh, receiued with teares, that it seemed that al his body should be dissolved and relented into salt droppes.

But Gisippus, as he were there with nothing astonied or discontented, with an assured countenaunce, and merye regarde, embracing Titus, & kissing him, answered in this wise: why Titus, is this your onely sickenesse and grief that ye so vncourteously haue so longe concealed, and with much

The answer of  
Gisippus.

Q. v.

more



## The Gouvernour.

more vnkindenesse kepte from mee, than yee haue conceiued it: I knowledg my follye wher-with ye haue with good right imbrayded me, that in shewing to you hir whom I loued, I remembred not the common estate of our nature, neither the agreablenes, or (as I might saye) the vnitie of our two appetites. Surely that default can be by no reason excused, wherfore it is only I, that haue offended. For who may by right proue that yee haue trespassed, that by the ineuitable stroake of Cupides darte, are thus bitterlye wounded? Thinke ye me such a foole or ignorant person, that I knowe not the power of Venus, where shee lysteth to shewe hir importable byolence? Haue not ye well resisted against such a goddesse, that for my sake haue striuen with hir almost to the death? What more loyaltie or trouth can I require of you? Am I of that vertue, that I maye resist against celestiall influence, preordinate by prouidence diuine? If I so thought what were my wittes? Where were my studie so long time spent in noble Philosophy? I confesse to you Titus, I loue that mayden as much as any wise man might possible: and tooke in hir company more delight and pleasure than of all the treasure and landes, that my father left me, which ye know was right abundant. But now I perceiue that the affection of loue toward hir surmounteth in you aboue measure, what shall I thinke it of

a wanton luste , or sodayne appetite in you, whome I haue euer knowen of graue and sad disposition, inclyned alway to honest doctrine, flyng all vaine dalyance and dishonest pastyme? Shall I imagine to be in you any malice or fraude, since from the tender tyme of our childehoode , I haue alwaye found in you, my sweet friend Titus, such a conformitie with all my manners, appetites, and desires, that neuer was seene betweene vs any manner of contencion? Maye God forbidde, that in the friendshippe of Gissippus and Titus, should happen any suspition: or that any fatalie should pearce my heade, where-by that honourable lone betweene vs, should bee the mauntenance of a crumme perished. Nay, nay Titus, it is as I haue sayd, the only prouidence of GOD: He was by him from the beginning prepared to be your Lady & wife. For suche feruent loue entreth not into the heart of a wise man and vertuous, but by a diuine disposition: where-at if I should be discontented or grudge, I should not onely be vnjust to you, with-holding that from you, which is vndoubtedlye yours, but also obstinate and repugnaunt against the determination of God, which shall neuer be founden in Gissippus.

Therefore gentle friend Titus, dismay you not at the chance of loue, but receiue it ioyously with mee, that am with you nothyng discontented, but meruayllous gladd,

since

## The Gouvernour,

Since it is my happe to finde for you such a  
Lady, with whome ye shall lyue in felpetie,  
and receiue fruite to the honour and comfort  
of all your lygnage. Here I renounce to you  
cleerely all my title and interest, that I now  
haue or might haue in the faire mayden. Cal  
to your pristinat courage, wash cleane your  
vilage and eyen thus beweyte, and abandon  
all heauinesse, the day appointed for our ma-  
riage appprocheth : let vs consult how with-  
out difficultie ye may wholly attayn your de-  
sires. Take heede, this mine aduise, ye know  
wel, that we two be so lyke, that being apart,  
and in one apparayle few men do know vs.  
Also ye do remeber that the custome is, that  
notwithstanding anye cceremonie done at the  
time of the Spouialles, the mariage not-  
withstandinge is not confirmed, vntill at  
night, that the husband putteth a ring on the  
finger of his wife, and vnloseth hit girdell.  
Therefore I my selfe will bee present with  
my friends, and perforce all the partes of a  
bryde. And ye shall abide in a place secrete,  
where I shal appoint you vntill it be night.  
And then shall ye quickly conuey your selfe  
into the maydens chamber, and for the simi-  
lytude of our personages, and of our appa-  
rayle, ye shall not bee espyed of the women,  
which haue with none of vs anye acquayn-  
taunce, and shortly get you to bed, and putte  
your owne ring on the maydens finger, and  
vndoe



bindoe hir gyrdel of virginitie, and do all o-  
ther thing that shall be to your pleasure. We  
nowe of good cheere Titus, and comforte  
your selfe with good refections and solace,  
that this wayne and pale coloure, and your  
cheekes meygre and leane, be not the cause of  
your discovering. I knowe well, that ye ha-  
uing your purpose, I shall bee in obloquye  
and derysion of all men, and so hated of all  
my kynred, that they shall seke occasion to ex-  
pulle me out of this citie, thinking me to bee  
a notable reproche to all my family. But let  
God therein worke, I force not what payne  
that I abide, so that yee my friende Tytus  
may be safe, and pleasantlly enioye your de-  
sires, to the encreasing of your felicitie.

With these wordes Tytus beganne to  
moue, as it were out of a dreame, and doub-  
ting, whether he hearde Gysippus speake, or  
els sawe but a vision, laye styll as a man  
abashed. But when hee behelde the teares,  
trickelynge downe by the face of Gysippus,  
he then recomforted him, and thanking him  
for his incomparable kindnesse, refused the  
benefite that hee offred, saying: that it were  
better, that a hundred suche unkynde wret-  
ches, as he was shoulde peryshe, than so no-  
ble a man, as was Gysippus, shoulde susteyne  
reproche or damage. But Gysippus esteemo-  
nes comforted Titus, and there-with sware  
and protested, that wyth free and glad wyll  
hee woulde that this thing shuld be in forme  
asfore

## The Gouvernour.

aforesaid accomplished, and therewith imbraced and sweetely kissed Titus. Who percei-  
upnge the matter sure, and not feigned, as a  
man not sicke, but onely awaked out of hys  
sleepe, set him selfe vp in his bed: the quicke  
blond somewhat resorted vnto his visage, &  
after a little good meates and drinckes taken,  
he was shortly and in a fewe dayes restored  
into his olde facion and fygure. To make  
the tale short: The day of maryage was co-  
men. Gisippus, accompanied with his alies  
and friendes, came to the house of the damo-  
sell, where they were honorably and ioyously  
feasted. And betweene him and the mayden  
was a sweete entertainmēt, which to behold,  
all that were pzent, tooke much pleasure  
and comfort, praisynge the beautye, goodly-  
nesse, vertue, and curtesie, whiche in thys  
couple wer excellent aboue al other that they  
had euer scene. What shall I say moze: the  
couenaunts were read and sealed, the dower  
appointed, and all other bargeines conclu-  
ded, and the friends of either part toke their  
leau & departed: the bryde with a fewe wo-  
men (as was the custome) brought into hir  
chamber: thā as it was befoze agreed, Titus  
conueyde himselfe, after Gisippus returned  
to hys house, or perchance to the chamber ap-  
pynted for Titus, nothinge sorowfull, al-  
though that he hartely loued the mayden, but  
with a glad heart and countenance, that hee  
had so recovered his friend from death, and  
so

so well brought him to the effecte of hys desyre. Nowe is Titus in bedde with the mayden, not knowen of hir, nor of anye other, but for Gysippus. And first hee sweetely demanded hir, if that she loued him, and dayned to take him for hir husbände, forsakyng all other. Whiche she also blushing with an eye halfe laughinge, halfe mourning (as in poynt to departe from hir maydenheade, but supposyng it to bee Gysippus that asked hir) affirmed. And than he eftsoones asked hir, if she in ratifying that promise, woulde receiue hys ringe, whyche hee had there already: whereto she consenting, putteth the rying on hir synger, & vnloseth her gyrdell. What thing els he dyd they two onely knewe of it. Of one thinge I am sure that nyght was to Titus moze comfortable, than cuer was the longest day of the yere: yea, & I suppose a whole yere of days. The morow is comen, Gysippus, thinkinge it expedient, that the trouthe should be discouered, assembled al the nobilitie of the citie at his owne house, wher also by thappoyntement was Titus, who amonge them hadde these wordes, that doe folowe.

My friendes Athenienses, there is at this tyme shewed amonge you an example, almoste incredible, of the dyuine power of honourable loue, to the perpetuall renoume and commendation of this noble citie of Athens, wherof he ought to take excellent comforte,  
and

The oratio  
of Titus to  
the Athenienses.



## The Gouvernour.

and therfore giue due thanks to God, if there remaine amonge you anye token of the ancient wysedome of your moste noble progenitours. For what more praise may be giuen to people, than beneuolence, faithfulnessse and constance: without whom all countreys and cities, be brought vnto desolation and ruine, like as by them they become prosperous, and in moste high felicitie. What shall I longe tarye you in coniectinge myne entente and meaninge: Yee all knowe, from whence I camme vnto this citie, that of aduenture I founde in the house of Chremes, his sonne Gylippus, of mine owne age, and in euerye thing so like to me, that neither his father, nor anye other man coulde discerne of vs the one from the other, but by our owne insigne-ment or shewing: in so much as there were put about our neckes laces of sundry colours to declare our personages. What mutuall agreement and loue haue ben alway betwene vs during the eyght yeares, that wee haue ben together, ye all be witnesses, that haue bene beholders and wonderers of oure moste swete conuersation and consente of appetites, wherein was neuer any discorde or variance. And as for my parte, after the deceasse of my father, not withstandyng that there was discended and happened vnto me greate possessions, fayre houses, with abundaunce of riches: also I beinge called home by the desyrous and importunate letters of myne  
alies

alpes and friendes, whych be of the most no-  
 ble of all the senatours, offered the auance-  
 ment to the hyghest dignities in the publyke  
 weale, I will not remēber the lamentations  
 of my most naturall mother, expzessed in hir  
 tender letters, al be spent and bletted w<sup>th</sup> th  
 abundance of teares, wherin she accuseth me  
 of unkyndnesse, for my long taryng, and  
 specially nowe in hir most discomforte. But  
 all this could not remoue me the breadth of  
 my naye frō my deare friend Gisippus. And  
 but by force could not I, nor yet may be dra-  
 wen from his swete company, but if he ther-  
 to w<sup>ll</sup> consente. I chosinge rather to lyne  
 with him as his companyon and fellow, yea,  
 and as hys seruante rather then to bee con-  
 full of Rome. Thus my kindnes hath bē wel  
 acquitted (or as I mought saye) redoubled,  
 delyuering me from the death, yea from the  
 most cruell and peynfull death of all other. I  
 perceiue ye wonder here-at noble Athenien-  
 ses, and no meruayle. For what personne  
 shoulde bee so hardye, to attempte any suche  
 thyng against me being a Romaine, and of  
 the noble bloude of the Romaines? Or who  
 shoulde be thought so malicious, to slea me,  
 who (as all ye be my iudges) neuer trespass-  
 sed against any person within this city. May  
 nay my friends I haue none of you all therin  
 suspected, I perceiue you desire and harken  
 to know, what he was, that presumed to doe  
 so cruell & great an enterpryse. It was loue  
 R. noble

## The Gouverneur.

noble Athenienses, the same loue, which as your poetes doe remember, dyd wounde the moze parte of all the Gods, that yee doe honoꝝ, that constrained Iupiter to transfoꝛme him selfe in a swan, a bull, and dyuers other lykenesses: the same loue that caused Hercules, the vanquisher and destroyer of Monsters and Giances, to spyꝛne on a rocke, sitting amonge maydens in a womans apparayle: the same loue that caused to assemble al the noble princes of Asia and Grece in the fieldes of Troy: the same loue I say, against whose assaultes maye be found no defence oꝛ resistance, hath sodainly and vnware stricken me vnto the harte, with such beheiment and mighte, that I had in shorte space died with mooste feruent toꝛmentes, had not the incomparable friendship of Gisippus holpen me. I see, you would sayne knowe, who she is that I loued. I will no lenger delay you noble Athenienses: It is Sophronia, the ladie, whom Gisippus had chosen to haue to his wife, and whome hee mooste entirclye loued. But whan his mooste gentle harte perceyued that my loue was in a much hygher degree than his toward that lady, and that it proceeded neyther of wantonnesse, neyther of long conuersation, noꝛ of any other corrupt desire oꝛ fantasie, but in an instante, by the onely looke, and with such feruence, that immediately I was so cruciate, that I desired, and in al that I mought pꝛouoke death to take me.



He by his wisdom soone perceyued, (as I doubt not but that ye do) that it was the very prouision of God, & she shuld be my wife, and not his: wher-to he giuing place, & more esteeming true friendship, then the loue of a woman, where- unto hee was induced by his friends & not by violence of Cupid constrained as I am, hath willingly graunted to me the interest that he had in the damosell. And it is I Titus, that haue verely wedded hir, I haue put the ryng on hir finger, I haue vndone the gyrdle of shamesfastnes: what wil ye more, I haue lpen with her, and confirmed the matrimony, and made hir a wife.

At these wordes all they that were present began to murmur, and to cast a disdaynous and greenous looke vpon Gissippus. Then spake agayne Titus.

Leaue your grudginges and menacing countenaunce, towarde Gissippus, hee hath done to you all honour, and no neede of reproche. I tell you he hath accomplished al the partes of a friende: that loue, whiche was moste certaine, hath he continued.

He knewe, hee myght finde in Grece another mayden, and saye and as ryche as this that he had chosen, and one perchaunce, that he mought loue better. But such a friend (as I was) hauing respect to our similitude, the longe approued concorde, also mine estate and condition, hee was sure to finde neuer none. Also the damosell suffereth no dispergement

## The Gouvernour.

in hir bloude, or hinderance in hir maryage,  
but is much rather aduanced (no dyspraye  
to my deare friend Gisippus). Also consider  
noble Athenienses, that I toke hir not my fa-  
ther lyving, whan ye mought haue suspected  
that as well hir ryches as hir beautie, should  
haue thereto allured me: but soone after my  
fathers decease, whan I farre exceeded hir  
in possessions and substance, when the moste  
notable men of Rome and of Italye, desired  
myne alpaunce, ye haue therfoze all cause to  
reioyce and thanke Gisippus, and not to bee  
angry, and also to extoll his wonderfull kind-  
nes toward me, whereby he hath wonne mee  
and all my bloude, suche friendes to you and  
your citie, that ye may be assured, to bee by  
hs defended against all the worlde: whiche  
being considered, Gisippus hath well deser-  
ued a statue or image of golde, to bee set on a  
pyller, in the myddes of your citie, for an ho-  
norable monument, in the remembraunce of  
our incomparable friendship, and of the good  
that thereby may come to your citie. But if  
this perswasion cannot satisfie you, but that  
yee wpll imagine any thinge to the damage of  
my deere friend Gisippus, after my departing  
I make mine auowe vnto God, creatour of  
al thing, that as I shal haue knowledge ther  
of, I shall forth-with resozt hither, with the  
inuisible power of the Romaines, and re-  
uenge hym in suche wise against his enemies  
that al Grece shal speake of it to their perpe-  
tuall

tuall dishonour, shame, and reproch.

And there with Titus and Gisippus rose, but the other for feare of Titus dissembled their malyce, making semblaunt, as they had bene with all thing contented.

Soone after, Titus beeing sent for by the authoritie of the Senate & people of Rome, prepared to depart out of Athens, and would fayne haue had Gisippus to haue gone with him, offering to deuide with him all his substance and fortune. But Gisippus, considering how necessary his counsaile should bee to the citie of Athens woulde not depart out of his country. Notwithstanding that aboue all earthly things, hee most desired the company of Titus: which abode also, for the sayd consideration, Titus approued.

Titus with his Lady is departed towards the citie of Rome. Where at their conning, they were of the Mother of Titus, his kinsmen, & of all the Senate and people ioyously receiued. And ther lyued Titus with his Lady in ioye inexplicable, and had by hir manye faire childzen: and for his wisdom and learning was so highly esteemed, that there was no dignitie or honourable Office with-in the citie, that hee had not with much fauour and praise atchieued and occupied.

But now let vs resorte to Gisippus, who immediately vpon the departing of Titus, was so malygned at, as well by his owne kinsman, as by the friends of the Lady, that



## The Gouvernour.

he, to their seeming shamefull ye abandoned,  
leuing hir to Titus, that they spared not dai-  
ly to vex him with all kindes of reproache,  
that they could deuise oz imagine: and firste  
they excluded him out of their counsaile, and  
prohibited from him all honest company.  
And yet not beeing there-with satisfied, fi-  
nally they adiudged him vnwoorthy to enioy  
any possessions oz goods, leste to him by his  
parents, whome hee (as they supposed) by  
his vndiscreete friendship had so distayned.  
Wherefoze they despoyled him of all things,  
and almost naked, expelled him out of the ci-  
tie. Thus is Gissippus late wealthy, and one  
of the most noble menne of Athens, for his  
kinde heart, bannished his Countrey for  
euer, and as a man dismayed, wandring he-  
ther and thether, finding no man that would  
succoz him. At the last remembryng in what  
pleasure his friend Titus lyued with his la-  
dy, for whom he suffered these domages, con-  
cluded to go to Rome, and declare his infor-  
tune to his said friend Titus, what shal nede  
a long tale? in conclusion, with much payne,  
colde hunger and thirst, he is come to the ci-  
tie of Rome, and diligently enquiring for the  
house of Titus, at the last he came to it; but  
beholding it so beautifull, large, and prince-  
ly, hee was ashamed to approach nighe to it,  
beeing in so simple estate and vncladde, but  
standeth by, that in case Titus came foorth  
out of his house, hee might present him-selfe

to him. He being in this thought. Titus holding his lady by the hande, issued out from his dooze, and taking their Horses to solace themselves, behelde Gissippus, and beholding his byle apparayle, regarded him not, but passed forth on their waye, where-with Gissippus was so wounded to the hearte, thinkinge Titus hadde contempned his fortune, that oppressed with mortal heauines, fel in a sownde, but being recovered by some that stood by, thinking him to be sick, forthwith departed, intending not to abide any longer, but as a wilde beast to wander abroad in the world. But for wearines he was constrained to enter into an old barne, without the citie; wher he casting him selfe on the bare ground with weeping and dolorous crying, bewailed his fortune: But most of all accusing the ingratitude of Titus, for whome he suffered all that misery, the remembrance wher-off was so intollerable, that he determined no longer to lyue in that anguish & dolour. And therewith drew his knife, purposing to haue slaine himself. But euer wisdom (which he by the study of philosophy had attempned) withdrew him from that desperate acte. And in this contention, betweene wisdom and will, fatigate with long iourneyes in watche, or as God would haue it, he fel into a deepe sleepe. His knife (wher-with he would haue slayne himselfe) falling down by him. In the meane time a common and notable ruffian or theefe

B. iij.

which

## The Gouvernour.

which hadde robbed and slayne a man : was entred into the barne, where Gissippus laye ? to the intent to soiozne there all that night. And seeing Gissippus bewept, and his bysage replenished with sorow, and also the naked knife by him, perceyued well, that hee was a man desperate and supprised with heauines of heart, was weary of his lyfe : which the sayd russian taking for a good occasion to escape , tooke the knife of Gissippus and putting it in the wound of him that was slaine, put it all bloudy in the hand of Gissippus, being fast a sleepe, and so departed. Soone after the dead man being founde, the Officers made diligent search for the murderer: at the last they entring into the barne , and finding Gissippus on sleepe, with the bloudye knife in his hande, awaked him, wherwith he entred agayne into his olde sorowes, complayning his euil fortune. But when the officers laid vnto him the death of the man, and the hauing of the bloudye knife, there at reioyced, thanking God, that such occasion was hapned, where-by he should suffer death by the Lawes, and escape the vyolence of his owne handes, wherefore he denyed nothing that was layd to his charge, desiring the officers to make hast that he might be shortly out of his lyfe. where at they meruayled. Anon report came to the Senate, that a manne was slayne and that a Stranger , and a Greeke bozne, was found in such forme, as is before menti-



mentioned. They forth-with commaunded him to be brought vnto their presence, sitting there at that time, Titus being then Consul or in other lyke dignitie. The miserable Gissippus, was brought to the barre, with billes and staues lyke a felon, of whome it was demaunded if he slew the man that was founden dead. He nothing denied, but in most sorrowfull manner cursed his fortune, naming himselfe of all other most miserable.

At the last one demaunding him of what Countrey hee was, hee confessed to be an Athenian, and there-with he cast his sorrowfull eyen vppon Titus with much indignation, and burst out into sighes and teares abundantly: that beholding Titus, and espying by a lyttle signe in his vylage, which hee knewe, that it was his deere friende Gissippus, and anone considering that hee was brought into dispaire by some misaduenture, rose out of his place where hee sate, and falling on his knees before the Iudges, sayd, that he had slayne the man, for olde malyce that hee bare toward him, and that Gissippus being a Straunger, was guyltlesse, and all men mought perceyue that the other was a desperate person. Wherefore to abzeuiate his sorrowes, hee confessed the acte, whereoff he was innocent, to the intent y he would finish his sorrowes with deathe. Wherefore Titus desired the Iudges to giue sentence on him, according to his merites. But Gi-

R. v.

sippus

## The Gouvernour.

Giſippus perceiuing his friende Titus (contrary to his expectation) to offer himſelfe to the death for his ſafegarde, moze impoꝛtunately cryed to Senate to proccede in their iudgement on him, that was the very offender.

Titus denyed, and affirmed with reaſons & arguments, that he was the murderer, and not Giſippus. Thus they of long time with aboundaunce of teares contended, which of them ſhoulde dye for the other, where-at all the Senate and people wer wonderouſly aſhamed, not knowing what it mēt. The murderer in deede happened to be, in the pzeace at that time, who perceiuing the meruaylous contencion of theſe two perſons, which were both innocent, and that it proceeded of an incomparable frienſhip, was behemētly prouoked to diſcouer the troth. Wherefoze hee brake through the pzeace, & coming befoze the Senate, ſpake in this wiſe.

Noble fathers, I am ſuch a perſon, whom ye know haue bene a common barratoꝝ and theefe by a long ſpace of yeares: ye know alſo, that Titus is of a noble blood, and is aproued to be alway a man of excellent vertue and wiſedome, and neuer was malicious.

This other ſtraunger ſeemeth to bee a man full of ſimplictie, and that moze is, deſperate for ſome grieuous ſozrow that hee hath taken, as it is to you euident, I ſaye to you fathers they both bee innocent, I am that perſon, that ſlew him that is founden deade,

by the barne, and robbed him of his money. And when I found in the barne this stranger lying on sleepe, hauing by him a naked knife: I the better to hide mine offence, did put the knife into the wound of the dead man, & so all bloudy layd it againe by this stranger. This was my mischieuous deuice to escape your iudgement. Where-vnto nowe I remit mee wholly, rather then this noble man Titus, or this innocent stranger, should unworthely dye.

Hereat al the Senate, & people toke comfort, and the noyse of reioycing heartes filled all the courte. And when it was further examined, Gisippus was discovered, the friendship betweene him & Titus was thzough-out the citie publyshed, extolled and magnified. Wherefoze the Senate consulted of this matter: and finally at the instance of Titus & the people discharged the felon. Titus recognised his neglygence in forgetting Gisippus. And Titus being aduertised of the exile of Gisippus, and the despiteful cruelty of his kinned, was therewith wonderfull wrothe, & hauing Gisippus home to his house (wher he was w<sup>th</sup> incredible ioy receiued of the Ladye, whome some-time he should haue wedded) honourably apparayled him, and there Titus offered to him, to vse al his goods and possessions at his owne pleasure and appetite. But Gisippus, desiring to bee agayne in his proper Countrey, Titus by the consent of the Senate



## The Gouvernour.

Senate and people assembled a great army, and went with Gisippus vnto Athens, wher he hauing deliuered to him all those, whiche were causes of banishing and despoiling of his friend Gisippus, did on them sharpe execution, and restoring to Gisippus, his landes and substance, stablyshed him in perpetuall quietnesse, and so returned to Rome.

This example in the affectes of friendship expresseth (if I be not deceyued) the description of friendship, engendred by the similitude of age and personage, augmented by the conformitie of manners and studyes, and confirmed by the longe continuance of company.

None euill  
may bee in  
friendship.

It woulde be reincident, that friendship is betweene good men onely, and is ingendred of an opinion of vertue. Than maye we reason in this forme. A good man is so named, because all that he willeth or doth, is onely good: in good can be none euill, therefore nothing that a good man willeth or doth, can be euill. Likewise vertue is the affection of a good man, which neither willeth nor doth any thing that is euil. And vice, is contrary vnto vertue, for in the opinion of vertue is neither euill nor vyce.

And very amitie is vertue. Wherefore nothing euil or vyxious may happen in friendship. Therefore in the first election of friends, resteth all the importance: wherefore it  
would

woulde not be with- out a longe deliberation  
and profe. and as Aristotle saith, in as longe  
tyne as by them bothe, being together con- Ethic.  
uersant, a whole bushell of salt mought be ea-  
ten. For oftentimes with fortune (as I late  
saide) is chaunged or at the leaste mynished  
the seruientnesse of that affection, accor dyng  
as the swete Poete Ouide affirmeth, sayinge  
in this sentence.

Whiles Fortune thee fauoureth, friends thou Ouid. 4.  
Pen.  
hast plentie.

The time being troublous, thou art al alone  
Thou seest culuers haunt houses made white  
and deintie.

To the ruinous toure almost cometh none,  
Of emotes innumerable vnethe thou syndest  
one.

In empty barnes, & where faileth substance,  
Hapneth no frinde, in vvhom is assurance.

But if any happeneth in euery fortune to  
be constant in friendshyp, he is to be made of  
aboue all thinges that may come vnto man,  
and aboue any other that bee of bloudde or  
kindred, as Tully saieth. For from kindred  
may be taken Beneuolence, from friendshyp  
it can neuer be seuered. Wherefore Beneuo-  
lence taken from kynrede, yet the name of  
kynseman remayneth: take it from friend-  
shyp, and the name of freindshyp is utterly  
perished.

But

## The Gouvernour.

How to  
discerne a  
friend from  
a flatterer.

But since this liberty of speeche is now  
vsurped by flatterers, where they perceyue  
that assentation and prayles be abhorred: I  
am therefore not well assured, howe a man  
nowe a dayes shall knowe or discerne suche  
admonition from flatterye, but by one onely  
meanes: that is to say, to remember y<sup>e</sup> friend-  
ship may not be, but betwene good men. The  
consider, if he that doth admonishe thee, bee  
hym selfe voluptuous, ambitious, couetous,  
arrogant, or dissolute, refuse not his admoni-  
tion: but by the example of the Emperoz An-  
tonine, thankfully take it, and amende such  
defaulte, as thou perceuest, doth giue occasi-  
on of obloquy, in such maner as the reporter  
also by thine example may be corrected. But  
for that admonition onely, accounte him not  
immediatly, to bee thy friende, vntill thou  
haue of him a long and sure experience. For  
vndoubtedly it is wonderfull difficile, to find  
a man very ambitious or couetous, to be as-  
sured in friendship. For where findest thou  
hym (saith Tully) that will not preferre ho-  
nours, great offices, rule, authoritie, and ry-  
cheffe before friendship: Therefore (saith he)  
it is very harde to finde friendship in them,  
that be occuppyed in acquirng honour, or  
about the assayes of the publik weale. which  
saying is proued by dayly experience.  
For disdayne and contempte be companions  
with ambition, lyke as enuye and hatred be  
also his fellowes.



The diuision of Ingratitude, and the  
dispraise there-of. Cap.xiii.

**T**he moſte damnable vice, and moſt a-  
gaynſt iuſtice, in mine opinion, is In-  
gratitude, commonly called vnkynd-  
nes. Albe-it it is in diuers formes,  
and of ſundry importaunce, as it is deſcribed  
by Seneca, in this forme.

Hee is vnkinde, whiche denyeth to haue  
receiued any benefite, that in deede hee hath  
receyued: He is vnkinde that diſſimuleth:  
he is vnkinde that recompenceth not. But  
he is moſte vnkinde that forgetteth. For the  
other, though they render not agayne kind-  
neſſe: yet they owe it, and there remaineth  
ſome ſteppes or token of deſertes, incloſed  
in any euill conſcience, and at the laſt by ſome  
occaſion may hap to returne to yeelde againe  
thankes, when eyther ſhame ther-to prouo-  
keth them, or ſodayne deſyre of a thing that  
is honeſt, which is wont to be for that tyme  
in ſtomackes, though they be corrupted, if a  
lyght occaſion do moue them. But he that  
forgetteth kindneſſe, maye neuer bee kynde,  
ſince all the benefite is quite fallen from hym:  
And where lacketh remembraunce, there is  
no hope of any recompence.

In this vice, menne be much worſe than  
beaſtes. For diuers of them will remember  
a benefite, long after they receiue it.

Kindnes is  
beaſtes.

The courſer, fierce and couragious, wyll  
gladly

## The Gouvernour.

Kindnes in  
dogges.

gladly suffer his keeper, that dresseth and feedeth hym, to vaunte hym easlye, and stirreth not, but whan hee lysteth to prouoke hym: where if any other should ryde him, though he were a kynge, hee will stirre and plunge, and endeavour hymselfe to thzowe hym. Suche kyndnes hath bene founden in dogges, that they haue not onely dyed in defendinge their maisters, but also soone after their maisters haue dyed or bene slaine, haue abstained from meat, and for famine haue dyed by their maisters.

Plinie remembzeth of a dogge, whiche in Epiro (a countrey in Grece, so assaulted the mardzer of his mayster in a great assemblie of people, that with barking and bytinge he compelled him at the last, to confesse hys offence.

The dogge also of one Iason, his maister being slayne, woulde neuer eat meat, but deyed for hunger.

Many semblable tokens of kindnes, Plinie reherfeth, but principally one of his owne tyme, worthy to be here remembzed.

When execution shoulde bee doone on one Titus Cabinius and his seruantes, one of them had a dogge, whiche mought neuer bee dzuen from the prison, nor neuer woulde departe from his maisters body: and when it was taken from the place of execution, the dogge howled most lamentably, being compassed with a greate number of people, of whom

whome when one of them hadde cast meate to the dogge, he brought and layde it to the mouthe of his maister. And when the corpes was thzowen into the ryuer of Tyber, the dogge swamine after it, and as longe as he mought, inforced him selfe to beare and susteyne it, the people scattering abzode to beholde the faythfulnesse of the beast.

Also the Lyon, which of all other beastes is accounted moste fierce and cruell, hath ben founden to haue in remembraunce a benefite shewed vnto him.

Aulus Gellius remembreth out of the Historie of Appian, how a Lyon, out of whose foote a young man had once taken a stub, and clenfed the wound, wherby he waxed whole, after knewe the same man beyng cast to him to bee deuoured, and woulde not hurt him: but lyckinge the legges and handes of the man, whiche laye dysmayde, looking for death, tooke acquaintance of him, and euer after followed him, beyng ledde in a small lyne, wher-at wondzed all they that behelde it. whiche Historie is wonderfull pleasant, but for the lengthe ther-of I am constrained to abridge it.

Howe much bee they repugnant, and (as I moughte saye enimes) bothe to nature and reason, whiche beyng aduanced by any good fortune, will contemne or neglecte suche one, whom they haue long knowen to be to them beneuolent, and toynd to them



## The Gouvernour.

in a sincere and assured friendship, appro-  
ved by infallible tokens, ratified also with  
undry kindes of beneficence: I requyre not  
suche excellent friendship, as was betweene  
Pirheas and Damon, betweene Horestes and  
Pilades, or betweene Gylippus and Titus,  
of whome I haue before written (for I fir-  
mely belecue, they shall neuer happen in pay-  
res or couples) nor I seeke not for such as  
will alway preferre the honour or profit of  
their friend before their own, neither (which  
is the least part of friendship) for such one as  
desirously will participate with his friende  
all his good fortune or substance. But where  
at this daye maye bee founden such friende-  
shyppe betweene two, but that if fortune bee  
more beneuolent to the one, then to the other,  
the friendship waxe tedious, and he that  
is aduanced, desireth to bee matched with  
one hauing semblable fortune? And if any  
damage happeneth to his olde friende, he pit-  
tyeth him, but he sorroweth not, and though  
he seeme to be sorrowfull, yet he helpeth not:  
and though hee would be seene to helpe him,  
yet trauaileth he not: and though he would  
be seene to traueyle, yet he suffereth not. For  
(let vs laye aparte assistance with money,  
whiche is a verye small portion of frende-  
shyp) whoe will so much esteeme friendship  
that therefore will enter into the displeasure  
not of his pryncce, but of them, whom he sup-  
posed may mynische his estimation towards

hys

Friendship  
of time.

his pzince: yea and that much lesse is, wil dis-  
please his newe acquaintance, equall wyth  
him in authoritie of fortune, for the defence,  
helpe, or aduancemente of his auncient and  
well approued friend: ¶ The moste mysfera-  
ble estate at this present tyme of mankynde,  
that for the thing, which is moste proper vnto  
them, the example must be founden among  
the sauage and fierce beastes.

¶ The election of friendes, and the diuersity  
of flatterers. Cap. xiiii.

**A** Noble man aboue al thing ought to  
be verie circumspect, in the election  
of such men, as shoulde continually  
attend vpon his person, at times va-  
cante from busie affayres, whome hee maye  
vse as hys familiars, and safely commytte  
to them his secretes. For as Plutarche saith.  
what so euer he be that loueth, doteth, and  
is blynde in that thinge, whyche hee doeth  
loue: excepte by learnyng hee can accustom  
hym-selfe to ensue and sette more pryce by  
those thynges, that bee honeste and vertu-  
ous, than by them that hee seeeth in expery-  
ence, and be sampliarly vled. And surely as  
the wormes do breede moste gladly in softe  
woode and sweete: So the moste gentle and  
noble wyttes, inclyned to honoure, repleny-  
shed with most honest and curteyse manners  
do soonest admitte flatterers, and be by them

Plutarchus  
de cognos-  
cend. amico  
ab adula-  
tore.

## The Gouvernour.

abused. And it is no meruaile. For like as the wyld Cozne, beyng in shape and greatnesse lyke to the good, if they bee myngled with great difficultie will be tryed out, but eyther in a narrow holed seeue they will still abyde with the good cozne, or els, where the holes bee large, they wyl issue out with the other: so flattery from friendship is hardelye scuered, for as muche as in euerye mocyon and affecte of the mynde, they be mutuallye mingled together. Of this peruerse and cursed people bee sundrye kindes: Some apparantlye doe flatter, praylinge and extollynge euery thing that is done by theyr superiour, and bearyng him on hande, that in him it is of euerye man commended, whyche of trothe is of all men abhorred and hated, to the affirmance wher of they adde to others, aduracions, and horryble curses, offryng them selues to eternal paynes, except theyr report be true. And if they perceyue any parte of their tale mistrusted, then they set forth the so-deynelye an heauye and sorowefull countenance, as if they were abiected and brought into extreame desperation. Other there bee, whych in a moze honest terme may be called Assentatours or followers, whyche doo awayte diligently, what is the fourme of the speche and gesture of theyr mayster, and also other his manners and facion of garmentes: and to the imitation and resemblaunce thereof they apply theyr study, that for the similitude



tude of manners they may the rather be accepted into the more familiar acquaintance. Lyke to the seruants of Dyonise, kinge of Sicily, which although they were enclined to all unhappinesse and mischiefe, yet after the coming of Plato, perceiuing, that for his doctrine and wisdom, the Kinge had him in high estimation, they than counterfeited the countenance and habite of the Philosopher, there by encreasing the kings fauoure towards them, who than was wholly giuen to study of Philosophy. But after Dionise, by their incitatio had expelled Plato out of Sicily, they abandoned their habite and seueritie, and eftsones returned to their mischieuous and voluptuous lyuing.

The greate Alexander bare his heade some parte on the one side more than the other, which diuers of his seruantes didde counterfayte.

Semblably did the schollers of Plato, the most noble Philosopher, which forasmuche as their master had a broad breast, and high shoulders, & for that cause was named Plato which signifieth broad or large, they stuffed their garments, and made on their sholders great bolsters, to seeme to bee of lyke forme as he was. wher-by he should conceiue some fauour towards them, for the demonstration of loue, that they pretended in the ostentation of his person. which kinde of flatterye, I suppose Plato could right well laugh at.

¶ iii.

But

## The Gouvernour.

But these manner of flatterers may be well found out and perceiued by a good wit, which sometime by himselfe diligently considereth his owne qualities & naturall appetite. For the compaignie or communication of a person familiar, which is alway plesant and without sharpnes, inclining to inordinate fauour and affection, is alway to be suspected.

Also there is in that friend small commo-  
ditie, which followeth a man lyke his shad-  
dowe, mouing onely when he moueth, & abid-  
ding where he list to tary. These be the mozt  
tall enemies of noble wittes, and specially in  
youth, when commonly they be moze enclined  
to glozy then grauitie. Wherefoze that li-  
beralitic, which is on such flatterers im-  
ployed, is not onely perished, but also spilled  
and deuoured. Wherefoze in mine opinion, it  
were a right necessary lawe, that shoulde bee  
made to put such persons opely to tortures,  
to the fearefull example of other, since in all  
Princes lawes (as Plutarch sayth) not only  
he that hath slain the kings sonne and heire,  
but also he that counterfaiteth his seale, or  
adulterateth his corne, with moze base meta-  
tal, shal be iudged to dye as a traitor. In re-  
son how much moze paine (if there were any  
greater paine then death) were he worthy to  
suffer, that with false adulation, doth corrupt  
and adulterate the gentle and vertuous na-  
ture of a noble man, which is not only his i-  
mage, but the very man himself: for without

ver-

Flatterye  
pernicious  
to gentle  
nature.

vertue man is but in the number of beastes. And also by peruerse instruction & flatterye, such a one slayeth both the soule & good re-  
nome of his master, by whose example & neg-  
ligence, perisheth also an infinite number of  
persons, which damage to a Realme neither  
with treasure nor with power can be redou-  
bed. But harde it is, alway to eschew these  
flatterers, which like to crows, do pick out  
mēs eyes ere they be dead. And it is to noble  
men most difficile, whome all men couette to  
please, & to displease them it is accounted no  
wisdome, perchaunce least ther should ensue  
there-by more perill then profite.

Also Carneades the philosopher, was wont  
to say, that the sonnes of noble men learned  
nothing well but onely to ride.

For whiles they learned letters, their ma-  
sters flattered them, praysing euerye woorde  
that they spake. In wassling their teachers  
and companions also flattered them, submit-  
ting them-selues, and fallyng downe to their  
feete: But the horse or courser not vnder-  
standing who rideth him, nor whether he bee  
a gentleman or yoman, a rich man or a poore,  
if he sit not surely, and can skill of riding, the  
horse casteth him quickly. This is the say-  
ing of Carneades.

There be other of this sorte, which more  
couertly laye their snares to take the hearts  
of princes and noble men. And as he which  
intendeth to take the fierce and mightye

Plutarch.  
de libe. e-  
ducandi.

A notable  
example.  
Subtil flat-  
terers.

Ex Plutar-  
cho de co-  
amico ab  
adulatore.

Sing.

lyon



## The Gouvernour.

lyon, pitcheth his haye oz nette in the woode among great trees and thoznes, where-as is the most haunt of the Lyon, that beeing blynded with the thickenesse of the couerte, may ere he beware, sodeinely tumble into the nette: where the Hunter seelynge both his eyes, and binding his legges stronglyc together, finally daunteth his fiercenes, and maketh him obedient to his ensignes & tokens.

Semblably ther be some, that by dissimulation can ostent oz shew a high grauitie, mixt with a sturdie enterainment and fashion, ex-ilyng themselves, from all pleasure and recreation, frowning and grutching at euery thing, where-in is anye mirth oz solace, although it bee honest, taunting and rebuking immoderately them, with whom they be not contented. Naming them-selues therefore playne men, although they do the semblable, and often-times worse in their owne houses. And by a simplicitie & rudenesse of speaking, with long deliberation vsed in the same, pretends the high knowledge of counsaile to be in the only: & in this wise pitching their net of adulation, they intrap the noble and vertuous heart, which only beholdeth their fained seueritie and counterfayt wisdom, and the rather bicause this manner of flattery is most vnlyke to that, which is commonly vsed.

Manye  
friends necessary for  
a gouernour

Aristotle in his *Polytikes*, exhorteth gouernours, to haue their friends for a greate number of eyes, eares, handes, and legges,  
confi-

considering that no one man may se or heare  
all thing, that many men may see and heare :  
neither can be in all places, or doe as manye  
things well at one time , as manye persons  
may do. And oftentimes a beholder or loker  
on, espyeth a default, that the doer forgetteth  
or skippeth ouer: which caused the emperour  
Antonine to enquire of manye , what other  
men spake of him, coꝛrecting ther-by his de-  
faults, which he perceiued to be iustly reproo-  
ued.

This I trust shall suffice, for the expres-  
sing of that incomparable treasure , called  
amitie: in the declaration wher-off, I haue  
aboden the longer, to the intent to perswade  
the readers to insearch therefore vigilantly,  
and being so happye to finde it , accordinge  
to the said description to embrace and ho-  
nour it , abhorringe aboue all thinges

Ingratitune, which pestilence hath  
long time reigned among vs,  
augmented by detraction  
a coꝛrupt and lothly  
sicknes, wherof I  
will treat in  
the laste  
part

of this worke, that men of good  
nature espying it, neede not,  
if they lyst be there-  
with deteined.

Finis lib. 2.

S. v.

The

# THE THIRD

Booke.

Of the noble and most excellent  
vertue named Iustice, Cap. 1.



The most excellent and incomparable vertue, called Iustice, is so necessary & expedient for the gouernour of a publyke weale, that with-out it, none other vertue, may be commendable, neither wit oz any manner of doctrine profitable. Tully sayth: At the beginning, when the multitude of people were oppressed by them that abounded in possessions and substaunce, they espying some one, which excelled in vertue and strength, repaired to him, who ministring equitie when he had defended the pooze men from iniury, finally retained together & gouerned the greater persons with the lesse, in an equall and indifferent order. Wherefoze they called that man a king, which is as much to say, as a ruler. And as Aristotle saith, Iustice is not onely a portion oz spice of vertue, but is entirclye the same vertue. And there-off onely (sayth Tully) men be called good mē, as who saith, with out Iustice, all other qualyties & vertues can-not make a man good.

The auncient Ciuilians saye, Iustice is a  
will

Offic. 1.  
Frō whence  
the name  
of a knig  
first proceed.



will perpetuall and constant, which giueth to euery man his right. In that it is named constant, it importeth fortitude: in discerning what is right or wronge, Prudence is required. And to proportion the sentence or iudgement, in an equalitye, it belongeth to temperance. All these together conglutinate and effectuallye executed, maketh a perfecte definition of Justice.

Justice, although it be but one entire vertue, yet is described in two kindes or species, the one is named Justice distributive, which is in distribution of honour, money, benefice, or other thing semblable: the other is called commutative or by exchange.

Justice cō-  
mutatiue.  
Dio. horica  
Justice cor-  
rectiue.

And of Aristotle it is named in Greeke, Diorthotice, which is in English correctiue. And that part of Justice is contained in intermedling, & some-time is voluntary, some-time in voluntary intermedlyng. Voluntary, is buying or sell yng loue, suretie, letting, and taking, and all other things, where-in is mutuall consent at the beginning: and therefore it is called voluntarye. Intermedlynge inuoluntary, some-time is priuily doone, as stealing, aduoultrie, poysoning, falsehoode, deceipte, secrete murder, false witnesse, and periury. Sometime it is byolent, as battry, open murder, and man-slaughter, robberye, open reproach, and other lyke. Justice distributive, hath regard to the personne. Justice commutative hath no regarde to the person

## The Gouvernour.

person, but onely considering the inequalitye, where-by the one thing exceedeth the other, endeauoureth to bring them both to an equalitye.

Nowe will I retourne agayne to speake first of Iustice distributiue, leauing Iustice commutatiue to an other volume, which I suppose shall succede this worke, God giuing me time and quietnesse of minde to perfoyme it.

The first part of Iustice distributiue. Ca.2.

It is not to be doubted, but that the firste and principall part of Iustice distributiue is & euer was, to doe to God that honour, which is due to his diuine Maiestie.

which honoz (as I befoze said in the first booke where I wzote of the motion, called Honour in dauncing, consisteth in loue, feare and reuerence. For since al men graunt, that Iustice is to giue to euery manne his owne, muche moze to render one good deebe for an other, mozte of all to loue God, of whome wee haue all things, and with-out him wee were nothing, and beeing perished, we were estsoones recouered. How oughte wee (to whome is giuen the very light of true faith) to embrace this part of Iustice moze, or at the least no lesse then the Gentiles, which wandzinge in the darkenesse of ignozaunce knewe not God as hee is, but diuiding his  
male=

maiestye into sundry portions, imagyned Idols of dyuers fourmes and names, and assigned to them particuler authorities, offices and dignities. Notwithstanding, in the honouring of those Goddesses, such as they were, they supposed alwaye to bee the chiefe parte of Justice.

Romulus, the fyrste kynge of Romaynes, for his fortune and benefites, whyche he ascribed to his Goddesses, made to their honour great and noble Temples, ordeyninge to them Images, sacrifices, and other ceremonies. And mozeouer (which is much to be meruailed at) he also prohybited, that any thyng shoulde be redde or spoken, reprochable or blasphemous to God. And therfore he excluded all fables made of the aduontyres and other enozimities, that the Greekes hadde feigned their gods to haue committed, inducing his people to speake, and also to coniect nothyng of God, but onely that which was in nature moste excellent, whiche after was also commaunded by Plato in the first booke of his publike weale.

The honor that the gentiles bare to their Gods Plutarchus in vita Romuli.

Dionisius.

Numa Pompilius, the nexte king after Romulus, & elect by the Senate, although he were a straunger borne, and dwelling with his father in a little Towne of the Sabines, consideringe from what estate hee came to that dignitie, beinge a man of excellent wisdom and learning, thought he coulde neuer sufficientlye honour his Goddesses for that benepice



## The Gouvernour.

Devotion  
cause of  
tranquility

nesyte, by whose providence hee supposed, that hee had attayned the gouernaunce of so noble a people and citie. He therfore not on-ly increased within the citie Temples, Al-ters, Ceremonies, Priestes and sundry reli-gions: but also with a wonderfull wyse-dome and pollicye, whyche is too longe to be nowe rehearsed, broughte all the people of Rome, to such a deuotion, or (as I mought saye) a superstition, that where alwaye be-fore, durynge the tyme that Romulus reyg-ned, whiche was xxxvii. yeeres, they euer were continually occupied in warres and ra- uine: By the space of xliiii. yeeres, so longe reygned Numa) they gaue them all, as it were to an obseruaunce of religion, abando- nyng warres, and applyeing in suche wyse theyr study to the honouring of their Gods, and inceasynge of theyr publyke weale, that other people adioygnynge, wonderynge at them, and for theyr deuotion hauynge the Cittie in reuerence, as it were a Pallace of God, al that season neuer attempted any war- res agaynst them, or with any hostyllitie in- uaded theyr country. Many mo Prynces & noble men of the Romaines could I reherse, whoe for victories agaynst their enemies, raysed Temples, and made solempne and sumptuous playes in honoure of theyr God- des, rendryng (as it were) vnto them their dutye, and alwayes accomptyng it the firste parte of Justice. And thys parte of Justice

towarde **G D D**, is honourynge hym wyth  
conuenient Ceremonyes, is not to bee con-  
temned. Example we haue among vs that  
be mortall. For if a man beyng made ryche,  
and aduanced by his Lorde or maister, will  
prouide to receyue hym, a fayre and pleasaunt  
lodgyng, hanged wyth ryche arasse or ta-  
pестerpe, and with goodly plate, and other  
thynges necessarye, moste freshelye adour-  
ned: but after that his mayster is once en-  
tered, he will neuer entertayne or countenance  
him, but as a straunger: suppose ye, that the  
beauty and garnysing of the house, shal on-  
lye content him, but that he will thinke that  
his seruauit brought him thither onelye for  
vainglozy, and as a beholder and wonderer at  
the rychesse that he hymselfe gaue him, whi-  
che the other vnthankfullpe doeth attribute  
to hys owne fortune of pollicy? Muche ra-  
ther is that seruauit to be commended, which  
hauing a little rewarde of his maister, will in  
a small cotage make him hartye chere with  
much humble reuerence.

yet would I not be noted, that I would  
seeme so much to extoll reuerence by it selfe,  
that Churches and other ornaumentes dedy-  
cate to God, should be therefore contemned.  
For vndoubtedlye such thynges be not on-  
lye commendable, but also expediente for the  
augmentation and continuing of reuerence.  
For be it eyther after the oppinion of Plato,  
that all this world is the Temple of God, or  
that

Churches  
material &  
ornaments,

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that man is the same temple, these materiall Churches, wher-vnto repayreth the congregation of christen people, in the which is the corporall presence of the sonne of God, and verie God, ought to be like to the sayde temple, pure, cleane, and well adourned, that is to saye, that as the heauen visible is moste pleasantlie garnished with Planettes and Stars, resplendishing in the most pure firmament of azure coloure, the earth furnished with trees, herbes, and flowers of diuers coloures, facions, and sauours, beastes, fowles, and fishes, of sundry kindes: Semblably the soule of man, of hys owne kynde being incorruptible, nete, and cleare, the senses and powers wonderfull and pleasaunt, the vertues in it conteyned noble and ryche, the fourme excellent and royall, as that which was made to the similitude of God. More ouer, the bodye of man is of all other mortall creatures in proportion and figure most perfect and elegant. What peruerse or frowarde opinion were it to thinke, that God, still being the same God, that he euer was, woulde haue his maiestie nowe contemned, or bee in lesse estimation: but rather more honoured for the benefittes of hys glayous passion, which maye be well perceyued, who so peruseth the holy hystorie of the Euangelystes, where he shall finde in order, that hee desired cleannesse and honour.

Firste in preparation of hys coming,  
whiche



whych was by the washyng and clesing of  
all the bodye of man by baptysme in water,  
the soule also made clegne by penance, the e=  
lection of the most pure and cleane virgin to  
be his mother, and she also of the line of prin=  
ces mooste noble and vertuous.

It pleased him muche, that Marye hum=  
blye knecled at his feete, and washed them  
with pzeious balme, and wyped them with  
hir hayze.

In his glorious transfiguration, hys by=  
sage shone like the sunne, and hys garments  
were wonderfull white, and moze pure (as  
the Euangelyst sayth) then any worke-man  
could make them.

Also at his commyng to Hierusalem, to=  
warde hys passyon, hee would then be recep=  
ued with great rowtes of people, who lay=  
ing their garmentes on the way as he rode,  
other casting bowes abroade, wente before  
hym in fourme of a tryumphe. All this ho=  
nour woulde he haue before his resurrection,  
when he was in the fourme of humylitie.

Then howe much honoure is due to hym  
nowe, that all power is giuen to him, as well  
in heauen as in earth, and beyng glorified of  
his father, sitteth on his ryght hande, iudge=  
ing all the worlde.

In reading the Wyble, menne shall fynde ceremonies  
that the infinite number of the sturdye hear=  
ted Iewes coulde neuer haue bene governed  
by anye wysedome, if they had not bene byr=  
=

## The Gouvernour.

deled with ceremonies.

The superstition of the Gentiles, preserved often-times as well the Greekes as the Remaines from finall destruction. But wee wyll lay all those Hystories aparte, and come to our owne experience.

For what purpose was it ordeyned, that Christen kynges, although they by inherytance succeeded their progenitours kinges shoulde in an open and stately place before all their subiectes, receyue theyr crowne and other regalities: but that by reason of the honourable circumstances then used, should be impressed in the hartes of the beholders perpetual reuerence: which (as I before sayd) is fountaine of obedience, or els mought the kyngs be annointed, and receiue their charge in a place secret, with lesse paine to them, and also their minysters.

Lette it be also considered, that wee be men and not Angelles: wherfore we know nothing but by outwarde signification. Honour, wherto reuerence perteyneth, is (as I haue sayde) the rewarde of vertue, which honour is the estimation of people, whyche estimation is not euery where perceiued, but by some exterior signe, and that is cyther by lawdable repozte, or excellency in besture, or other thing semblable. But repozte is not so commune a token, as apparayle. For in olde tyme kynges ware Crownes of golde, and knyghtes enely ware chaynes.

Also the moste noble of the Romaines were sundry garlands, wherby was perceyued their merite. A creatures most unkynd and barrayne of iustice, that will deny that thyng to theyr God and Creatoure, whiche of very ducty and ryght is gguen to hym by good reason afore all Princes, whiche in a degree incomparable bee hys subiectes and bassals: by which oppynion they seeme to despoyle him of reuerence, which shall cause all obedyence to cease, whereof will ensue vtter confusion, if good Christian Princes, moued with zeale, do not shortly prouide to extyncte vterly all such opinions.

¶ The three noble counsayles of reason,  
Society and Knowvledge. Cap.iii.

¶ Truly the knowledge of Iustice, is not  
V so difficill or harde to be attayned by Counsellers  
to by man, as it is commonly supposed, of Iustice.  
if hee woulde not willingly abandonne  
the excellency of his poore nature, & foolishly  
applycate hym self to the nature of creatures  
vnrasonable, in the sleepe of Reason embrac-  
ing sensualitie, & for Societie and Benigno-  
lence, folowynge wilfulnes and malyce, & for  
knowledge, blynde ignorance and forgetful-  
nes. Undoubtedly reason, society called com-  
pany, and knowledge remayninge, Iustice  
is at hande, and as thee were called for, toyn-  
eth hir selfe to that company, whiche by hir  
¶ ii. followe



## The Gouvernour.

fellowship is made inseperable, wher-by hapneth (as I might say) a vertuous and moste blessed conspiracie. And in their shorthe preceptes and aduertisementes, man is perswaded to receiue and honour Justice, Reason binding him: Do the same thing to an other, that thou wouldest haue done to thee. Societie, without which mans lyfe is vnpleasaunt & full of anguish, saith: Loue thou thy neighbour, as thou doest thy selfe. And that sentence or precept came from heauen, when society was firste ordeyned of God, and is of such authoritie, that the onely sonne of God, being demaunded of a doctour of lawe, which is the gretest commaundement in the law of god, answered: Thou shalt loue thy Lord God with al thy hart, and in al thy soule, and in all thy mynde, that is the firste and greates commaundement. The seconde is like to the same. Thou shalt loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe. In these two commaundementes do depend al the lawe and Prophetes. Beholde how our Sauour Christe ioyneith Beneuolence with the loue of God, and not only maketh it the seconde precepte, but also resemblith it vnto the first.

Math. 20.

Knowledge also as a perfect instructrice and maistresse, in a moze brieft sentence then yet hath bene spoken, declareth, by what meane the saide preceptes of reason and societie may be well vnderstande, and thereby Justice finally executed. The words be these

in Latine, Nosce te ipsum, which is in English, Knowe thy selfe. This sentence is of olde wryters supposed for to bee first spoken by Chylo, or some other of the seuen auncient Greekes, called in Latine, Sapientes, in English sage or wise men. Other doe accomodate it to Appollo, whome the Paining honoured for God of wisdom. But to say the troth were it Appollo that spake it, or Chylo, or any other, surely it proceeded of God, as an excellent and wonderfull sentence. By this counsaile, man is induced to vnderstand the other two Preceptes, and also thereby is accomplished not onely the seconde part, but also the residue of Justice, which I before haue rehearsed. For man knowing himselfe, shall knowe that which is his owne, & pertaineth to him-selfe. But what is more his owne, then his soule? Or what thinge more appertaineth to him, then his body? His soule is vndoubtedly & freely his own. And none other person may by any meanes possesse it or clayme it. His bodye so pertaineth vnto him, that none other without his consent may vendicate therein any propertie. Of what valour or price his soule is, the similitude where vnto it was made, the immortallitie, and life euerlasting, & the powers and qualities theroff, abundantly do declare. And of that same matter and substance that his soule is off, be all other soules, that now are, and haue bene, and euer shall be without

That this sentence nosce te ipsum know thy selfe induceth to the very knowledge of Iustice.

The quality in soules & corporal substance.

## The Gouvernour.

singularitie or preheminence, of nature. In semblable estate is his body and of no better claye, as I mought frankly saye, is a gentle man made, then a carter, and of lybertie of will, as muche is giuen of **G D** to the poore heardman, as to the great and mightie Emperour. Than in knowing the condition of his soule and body, he knoweth him-selfe, and consequently in the same thing he knoweth euery other man.

**Knowvlege of a gouernour.** If thou be a gouernour, or hast ouer other souereigntie, know thy selfe. That is to say, know that thou art verely a man, compact of soule and body: and in that all other men bee equal vnto thee. Also that euery man taketh with thee equal benefite of the spirite of life, nor thou hast any moze of y<sup>e</sup> deaw of heauen, or the brightnesse of the Sunne, then any other person. Thy dignitie or authoritie wherein thou onely differest from other is, as it were, but a weightie or heauie cloake, freshly glittering in the eyen of them, that be poore blinde, where vnto thee, it is paineful if thou weare him in his right fashion, & as it shall best become thee: And from thee it may bee shortly taken, of him that did put it on thee, if thou vse it negligently, or that thou weare it not comely, and as it apperteineth. Therefore whiles thou wearest it, know thy selfe, know that the name of a soueraine or ruler, without actuall gouernaunce, is but a shadow, that gouernance standeth not by words onely,



only, but principally by act and example, that by example of Gouvernours men doe rise or fall in vertue or byce. And as it is sayde of Aristotle, rulers moze grieuouſlye do sinne, by example than by their acte. And the moze they haue vnder their gouernance, the greater accompt haue they to render, that in their owne pzecepts and ozdinaunces they bee not found neglygent. Wherefoze there is a noble aduertisement of the Emperour Alexander, for his grauitie called Seuerus.

On a time one of his noble men exhorted Lāpridius. him to doe a thing, contrary to a lawe or Edicte, which he him-selfe had enacted. But he firmly denied it. The other stil persisting, sayd: The Emperour is not bounden to obserue his owne lawes. Where-vnto the saide Emperour displeasauntly aunſwering, saide in this manner, god forbid, that euer I should deuise any lawes, wher-by my people should be compelled to doe any thinge, which I my selfe can not tollerate.

Wherefoze ye that haue any gouernaunce, by this most noble Princes example, knowe the boundes of your authoritie, knowe also your office and duetie, beeynge your selues men mortall, among men, and instructours and leaders of mē. And that as obedience is due vnto you, so is your study, your labour, your industry with vertuous example, due to them that bee subiecte to your authoritie, ye shall knowe alway your selfe, if for affec-

## 1 The Gouvernour.

tion or motion yee doe speake or doe nothing  
unworthy the immortallitie & most precious  
nature of your soule, and remembryng that  
your bodye is subiecte to corruption, as all  
other be, and lyfe tyme vncertaine. If ye fo-  
get not this common estate, and doe also re-  
member, that in nothing but onely in vertue  
ye are better than an other inferiour person:  
According to the saying of Agesilaus, King  
of Lacedemons, who hearing the great king  
of Persia praised, asked how much that great  
king was moze then he in Justice. And So-  
crates, being demaunded, if the king of Persia  
seemed to him happy: I can not tel (said he)  
of what estimation he is in vertue and lear-  
ning. Consider also that authozitie being wel  
and dilygently vsed, is but a token of supe-  
rioritie, but in very deepe it is a burden and  
losse of libertie.

Agesilaus

Socrates.

And what gouernoz in this wise knoweth  
himselfe, he shal also by the same rule know al  
other men, & shal needs loue them for whom  
he taketh labours, and forsaketh libertie.

Knowledge  
of subiects.

In semblable manner, the inferiour person  
or subiect ought to consider, that albeit, (as  
I haue spoken) hee in the substance of soule  
and bodye is equall with his superiour: yet  
forasmuch as the powers & equalities of the  
soule and body, with the disposition of reaso-  
n, be not in enery man equal, therfore God or-  
deyned a diuersitie of preheminance in de-  
grees to be among men, for the necessary di-  
rection

rection and preservation of them in confor-  
mitie of lyuing. where-off nature miniffreth  
to vs example abundantly, as in Bees (where  
off I haue befoze spoken in the first booke)  
Cranes, red Deere, wolues, and diuers o-  
ther fowles and beastes, which heareth of  
flocketh, among whom is a gouernoz of lea-  
der, toward whom all the other haue a bygi-  
lant eye, awayting his signes of tokens, and  
according ther-to repairing themselves most  
diligently. If we thinke, that this naturall  
Instinction of creatures vnreasonable, is  
necessary & also commendable, how farre out  
of reason, shall wee iudge them to bee, that  
would exterminate all superiozitie, extinct al  
gouernaunce and lawes, & vnder the colour  
of holy scripture, which they doe byolentlye  
wrest to their purpose, indeuour themselves  
to bring the life of man into a confusion in-  
evitable, & to be in much worse estate, the  
afoze-named beastes. Since with-out goner-  
nance & lawes, the persons most strōg in bo-  
dy, should by byolence constrain the that be  
of lesse strengthe and weaker, to labour as  
bonde-menne of slaues for their sustenance  
and other necessities, the strong men being  
with-out labour of care. Then were all our  
equalitye dashed, and finallye as beastes sa-  
uage, one shal desire to slay an other. I omit  
continuallye manslaughters, rauishments, ad-  
uoultres, and enormities, horrible to re-

The necessi-  
tie that is  
in gouer-  
nance.

C. v.

hearse,



## The Gouvernour.

hearse, which gouernaunce lackinge must needes of necessitie ensue: except these euangelicall persons could perswade god, or compell him to chaunge men into Angelles, making them all of one disposition, and confirming them all in one forme of Charitie.

And as concerning all men in a generalytie, this sentence, Know thy selfe: which of all other is most compendious, beeing made but of thre words, euerie worde beeing but one sillable, induceth men sufficiētly to y know-ledge of Iustice.

Of fraude and deceit, vvhich be against Iustice. Cap.4.

Cl. off. 1.  
The excellencie of Iustice.

**T**Vlly saith, that the foundation of perpetuall praise and renoume, is iustice, without the which nothing maye bee commendable, which sentence is verified by experiēce. For be a man neuer so valiant, so wise, so lyberall or plentuous, so familiar or courteous, if he be seene to exercise iniustice or wrong, it is often remembred. But the other vertues be seldome reckned, without any exception, which is in this manner. As in praysing a man for some good qualytie, where he lacketh Iustice, men will comunonly say: He is an honourable man, a bounteous man, a wise man, a valiant man, sauing y he is an oppressor, an extortioner, or is deceitfull, or of his promise vn sure. But if

if he bee iust, with the other vertues, then is it said, he is good and worshipfull, or he is a good man and an honorable, good & gentle, or good and hardy, so that Justice only beareth the name of good, and lyke a Captaine or leader, precedeth al vertues in euery commendation.

But wher-as the said Tully saith, that iniury, which is contrarie to Justice, is done by two meanes: that is to say, either by violence or by fraud, fraud semeth to be properly of the foxe, by violence or force of y<sup>e</sup> lyon, the one & the other be far fro the nature of man, but fraud is worthy most to be hated. That manner of iniury, which is done with fraud & deceit, is at this present time so commonly practised, that if it be but a lytle it is called pollicie, and if it bee much & with a bysage of grauitie, it is than named & accompted wisdom. And of those wise men speketh Tully, saying: Of al iniustice, none is moze capitall then of those persons, y<sup>e</sup> when they deceiue a man most, do it, as they wold seme to be good me. And Plato saith, It is extreme iniustice one to seme righteous, which in deede is vniust. Of those two manner of fraudes will I leuerally speak: but first will I declare the most mischeuous importance of this kinde of iniury in a generalitie. Like as y<sup>e</sup> Physicians cal those diseases most perillous, against who is found no preseruatiue, and once entred be seldome or neuer recovered: semblably those iniury-

Iniurie by  
two means  
done.

Fraude and  
deceit.

Plato de re  
pub. 11.

## The Gouvernour.

iniuries bee most to bee feared, agaynst the which can be made no resistance, and being taken, with great difficultie or neuer, they can be redressed.

Iniurie apparant and with power infozced, either may bee with lyke power resisted, or with wisdomne eschued, or with entreatie refrained. But where it is by craftie engine imagined, subtilly prepared, couertlye dissembled, and deceiptfulllye practised, surely no man maye by strength with-stande it, or by wisdoms escape it, or by anye other manner of meane resist or auoyde it. Wherefore of all iniuries, that which is done by fraude, is most horrible and detestable, not in the opinion of man onelye, but also in the sight and iudgement of God. For vnto him nothing may be acceptable, where-in lacketh veritie, called commonlye truth, he him-selfe beeinge all veritie: and all thinge containinge vnto truth is to him contrarious and aduerse. And the diuel is called a lyar, and the father of leasings. Wherefore all thinges, which in bylage or apparance pretendeth to be any other thē verily it is, may be named a leasing, the execution wher-off is fraude, which is in effecte but vntrothe, enemye to truthe, and consequently enemye to God. For fraude is (as experience teacheth vs) an euill deceipt, craftelye imagined and deuised, which vnder a colour of truthe and simplicitie, indomageh him that nothing mistrusteth. And because



cause it is euill, it can by no meanes bee law-  
ful: wherfoze it is repugnaunt vnto Justice.

The Neapolitanes and Nolans (people in Italy) contended together for the limites and boundes of their landes and fieldes. The fraude of an Arbitror.

And for the discussing of that controuerſie, eyther of them ſente theyr Ambaſſadors to the Senate and people of Rome (in whom at that time was thought to be the moſte excellent knowledge and execution of Juſtice) deſyng of them an indifferente arbitror, and ſuch as was ſubſtanciallye learned in the lawes Ciuile, to determine the varyance, that was betweene the two Citties: compromyttinge them ſelues in the name of all theyr countrey, to abyde and perſourme all ſuche ſentence and awarde, as ſhoulde be by hym giuen. The Senate appoynted for that purpoſe, one named Quintus Fabius Labeo, whome they accompted to be a man of great wyſdome and learnyng. Fabius, after that he was come to the place, which was in controuerſye, hee ſeparatynge the one people from the other, communed with them bothe a parte, exhortyng the one and the other, that they would not do oz deſyre any thinge with a couetous mynde: but in treadinge oute of their boundes, rather go ſhort thereof, then ouer. They doynge accordyng to his exhortation, left betweene both companyes a great quantitie of ground, which at this daye we call barable. That perceyuing Fabius, af-  
signed

## The Gouvernour.

signed to euery of them the bounds that they them selues had appoynted. And al that land whiche was left in the myddes, he adiudged to the senate and people of Rome. That manner of dealing (sayeth Tully) is to deceyue, and not to giue iudgement. And verely euery good man wil thinke, that this lacke of iustice in Fabius, being a noble man & well learned, was a great reproche to his honour.

Fraude in  
cōfederacy.

It was a noble rebuke vnto the Israelites, that when they besieged the Gabaonites (a people of Chanani) they in conclusion receiued the into a perpetual league: But after the Gabaonites hadde yelded them, the Jewes perceiuyng they were restrained by theyr oathe to slea them, or cruelly entreate them, made of the Gabaonites, beyng theyr confederates, their scullyons and drudges, wherewith almighty God was nothing contented. For the league or truce, wher-in frēd shippe and liberty was entended, which caused the Gabaonites to be yeelden, was not duely obserued, which was cleerely agaynst Justice.

Simplicitye  
in couenant  
or promise

Truely in euery couenaunt, bargayne, or promyse, ought to bee a simplicitye, that is to saye, one playne vnderstandyng or meynyng betweene the partes: And that simplicity is properly Justice. And where anye man of couetous or malicious mynde wyllyng to greffe purposely from that simplicitye, takyng aduantage of a sentence or woorde, whyche

which mought bee ambyguous or doubtfull, or in some thinge either superfluous or lacking in the bargayne or promise, where hee certainly knoweth the trouthe to bee otherwyle: This in myne oppinion is damnable fraude, beyng as playne agaynst Justice, as if it were enforced by violence.

Fynally, all deceyte and dissimulation, in the oppinion of them, which exactly honour iustice, is neuer to dispraise then commendation, although thereof moughte insue some thyng good. For in vertue may be nothyng fucate or counterfaite. But therein is onely the Image of Veritie, called Simplicitie. wherefoze Tullie, beyng of the oppinion of Antipater the Philosopher, sayth: To conceale any thinge, whych thou knowest, to the intende that for thine owne profite thou woldest an other, who shal take any damage or benefite therby, should not know it, is not the acte of a person playne or symple, or of a man honeste, iuste, or good: but rather of a personne crafty, vngentill, subtyle, deceiptful malicious and wply.

And after he saythe, Reason requireth, that nothyng be done by treason, nothyng by dissimulation, nothyng by deceyte. which he excellently (as he doth all thyng) afterwarnd in a brieue conclusion proueth, sayeth: Nature is the fountaine, wherof the lawe springeth, and it is according to nature, no man to do that wherby he should take (as it wer)



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a pray of an other mans ignozance.

Of this matter Tully wyrteth many proper examples and quick solutions. But now here I make an ende to wryte anye moze at this tyme of fraud, which by no meanes may be ioyned to the vertue named Iustice.

That Iustice ought to be betweene  
enimyes, Cap. 5.

**S**uch is the excellency of this vertue iustice, that the practice thereof hath not only obtained digne cōmendatiō of such persons, betwene whome hath ben moztall hostilitie, but also oftentymes, hath extinct the same hostilitie. And the fierce harts of mutuall enemyes hath bene therby rather subdued, then by armure oz strength of people: as it shall appeare by examples ensuing.

When the valyaunte Kinge Pirrus warred mozte asperly against the Romaines, one Timothares, whose sonne was peoman for the mouth with the kinge, promysed to Fabricius, than being Consul, to slea kyng Pirrus: which thing being to the senat reported by their ambassade, warned the kyng to beware of such manner of treason, saying: The Romaines maynteyned theyr warres wyth armes, and not with popson. And yet not wythstanding they discovered not the same of Timothares, so that they imbraced equitie as well in that they slew not their enemye  
by

Treason  
hated of  
enimies.

by treason, as also that they betrayed not him which purposed them kindnesse.

In soe much was Justice of olde tyme esteemed, that with-out it none act was allowed, were it neuer so noble or profitable.

what tyme Xerxes, Kinge of Persia, with his armie was expelled out of Greece, al the Flaue of Macedonia lay at Rode in an Ha- uen, called Gytheum, within the dominion of the Athenienses. Themistocles, one of the Princes of Athenes, a much noble capitaine, sayde to the people, that hee hadde deuised hym-selfe of an excellent counsaile, where- vnto if fortune inclyned, nothyng mought more augmēt the power of the Athenienses: but it ought not to be diuulgat or published. He therefore desyred to haue one appoynted vnto him, to whome hee might secretlye discouer the enterpryse. where-vpon there was assigned to him one Aristides, whose for his vertue was surnamed right-wise. Themistocles declared to him, that his purpose was to put fire in the Flaue of Lacedemones, whiche lay at Gytheum, to the intent that it being brent, the dominion, and whole power ouer the Sea, should be onely in the Athenienses. This deuice hearde and perceyued, Aristides commyng befoze the people, sayde: The counsaile of Themistocles was verie profitable, but the enterpryse was dishonest and against Justice. The people hearyng that the acte was not honest or iuste, cryed wth

Honestie  
preferred  
before com-  
modity.

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one voice. For yet expedient. And forthwith they commaunded Themistocles, to cease his enterpryse. wher-by this noble people declared, that in euery acte, speciall regarde, and aboue al thing, consideration ought to be had of Iustice and honesty.

Of Fayth or Fidelitie, called in Latine Fides, which is the foundation of Iustice. Cap. 6.

**T**hat which in Latine is called Fides, is a part of Iustice, and may diuersly be interpreted: and yet finally endeth to one purpose in effect. Somtyme it may bee called faith, somtyme credence, other whyles trust. Also in a french terme it is named loyalty. And to the imitation of Latine, it is called often fidelitie. All which wordes if they be entyrelly, and (as I mought say) exactly vnderstanded, shall appeare to a studious reader, to signifie one vertue or qualitie, although they seeme to haue some dyuersitie. As beleuing the preceptes and promise of God, it is called fayth. In contractes betweene man and man, it is commonly called credence. Betweene persons of equall estate or condition, it is named trust. For the subiecte or seruante to his souereigne or master, it is properly named fidelitie, and in a frenche terme loyalty.

wherfore to him, that shall eyther speake



or write, the place is diligentl<sup>y</sup> to be obser<sup>u</sup>  
ued, where the pooze signification of the  
wozd may be best exp<sup>re</sup>s<sup>s</sup>ed. Considering (as  
Plato sayth) that the name of euery thinge Plato in  
Gratilo.  
is none other, but the vertue or effecte of the  
same thynge, conceyued first in the minde, and  
then by the voice exp<sup>re</sup>s<sup>s</sup>ed, and finally in let<sup>te</sup>  
ters signified.

But nowe to speake in what estimation  
this vertue was of olde time amonge Gen<sup>ti</sup>  
tiles, whieh now (alas to the lamentable re<sup>pro</sup>  
che, and perpetuall infamy of this p<sup>re</sup>s<sup>en</sup>t  
time) is so neglected thzough out chzistēdō,  
that neyther regarde of religion or honoure,  
solempne othes or terryble curses, can cause  
it to be obserued. And that I am much asha<sup>m</sup>  
med to write, but that I muste needes nowe  
remember it: Neither scales of armes, signe  
mannels, subscription, noz other specialities,  
yea vnneth a multitude of witnesses be nowe  
sufficiente, to the obseruing of p<sup>ro</sup>mises. O  
what publike weale should we hope to haue  
there, where lacketh fidelitie? which as Tul<sup>ly</sup> Faith neg<sup>l</sup>  
lected.  
sayth, is the foundation of Iustice. What  
meruaile is it, though there be in all places  
contencion infinite, and that good lawes be  
toured into sophemcs and insolubles, since  
euery wher fidelity is constrained to come in  
triell and credence (as I mought say) is be<sup>co</sup>  
me a vacabunde?

To Iosue, whych succeeded Moy<sup>se</sup>s in  
the gouernaunce and leadyng of tho Iewes,

A. ij.

almygh<sup>t</sup>

## The Gouvernour.

Of what  
authoritie  
fidelitie is.

Cananees  
preserved  
Iosue.

almighty God gaue in commaundement to Ies  
as many as he shoulde happen to take of the  
people, called Cananees. There hapned to  
be nygh to Hierusalem a countrey, called Ga-  
baon, & in-deede the people ther of were Ca-  
neanes, whoe hearyng of the pzecept, giuen  
to Iosue, as men (as it seemed) of greate  
wysedome, sente an ambassade to Iosue, whi-  
che appoched their countrey, saying: They  
were farre distaunt from the Cananees, and  
desired to bee in perpetuall league with hym  
and his people. And to dissemble the length  
of theyr iourney, as their countrey had beene  
farre thence, they hadde on them olde woꝛne  
garmentes and toꝛne shoone. Iosue supposing  
al to be true that they spake, concluded peace  
with them, and confyꝛmed the league, and  
wyth a solempne othe, ratified both the one  
and the other. Afterwarde it was dyscoue-  
red, that they were Cananees, whiche if Iosue  
had knowne befoze the league made, hee  
had not spared any of them. But when hee  
reuolued in his minde the solempne othe that  
he had made, and the honour, whyche confy-  
sted in his pꝛomysse: he pꝛesumed, that fayth  
beyng obserued vnperysshed, should please al-  
mightye God aboue all thinges, whych was  
then pꝛoued. For it appeareth not, that God  
euer did so much, as in any wise imbraied him  
for breaking of his commaundement.

By this example appeareth, in what esti-  
mation and reuerence, leagues, and truces  
made

made by Princes, ought to bee hadde, to the breach wher-of none excuse is sufficiēt. But let vs leaue Princes, affaires to their counsaylours. And I wil now write of the parts of fidelitie, which bee moze frequent and accustomed to be spoken off: And first of loyaltye and trust, & last of credence, which principally resteth in promise.

Trust and fidelitie.

In the most renowned warres, betweene the Romaines and Anniball Duke of Carthaginienſis, a noble citis of Spayne, called Saguntum, which was in amitie and league with the Romaines, was by the said Annibal strongly besieged, insomuch as they were restrained from vittayle and all other sustenance. Of the which necessitie, by their priuie messages they ascertained the Romaines. But they being busied about the preparations for the defence of Italye, and also of the Citie, against the intollerable power of Annibal, hauing also late two of their most valiant Capitaines, Publius Scipio, and Lucius Scipio, with a great hoaste of Romaines, slaine by Annibal in Spayne, deferred to send any speedy succours to the Saguntines. But notwithstanding Annibal desired to haue with them amitie, offering them peace, with their citie and goods at libertie: Considering that they were brought into extreame necessitie, lacking vittayle, and despairing to haue succours from the Romaines, all the inhabitants, comforting and exhorting eache o-

The loyaltye of Saguntines.

Titus Livius.  
Valerius Maximus.



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ther to dye, rather then to byolate the league and amitie that they of long time had continued with the Romaines, by one whole assent, after they had made sundry great piles of woode and other matter to burne, they layd in it all their goods, and substance. And last of all conueying the selues into the sayd piles or boncfires, with thei wiues, & children, sette all on fire, and there were burned, ere Annibal could enter the citie.

Seemable loyaltie, was in the inhabitants of Perilia the same time, who beeinge lykewise besieged by Annibal, sent for succour to Rome. But for the great losse that a lyttle earst the Romaines had sustayned at the battaile of Cannas, they could in no wise deliuer them. Wherefore they discharged them of their promise, and licensed them to doe that thing that mought be most for their safegarde. By which aunswere they seemed to be discharged, and lawfully mought haue entred into the fauour of Annibal: yet notwithstandinge this noble people preferringe loyaltie before lyfe, putting out of their citie their women and al that wer of yeres vnable for the warres, that they might more frankly susteine famine, obstinately defended their wals that in y defence they all perished. So that when Annibal was entred, hee founde that he toke not the citie, but, but rather the sepulcher of the loyall citie Petilia.

A noble fidelitic which is so muche the  
more

more to be wondred at, that it was not onely in one or a few persons, but in thousandes of men: and they not being of the bloude or alpaunce of the Romaines, but straungers, dwelling in farre countreyes from them, being only of gentle nature and vertuous courage, inclined to loue honour, and to bee constant in their assurance.

Now wil I write from henceforth of particular persons, which haue shewed exāples of loyaltie, which I pray God may so cleue to the mindes of the readers & they may be alway redy to put the seblable in experience.

How much ought all they, in whom is any portion of gentle courage, endeouour themselves, to be alwaies trustie and loyal to their souereigne. who putteth them in truste, or hath bene to them beneficiall, as well reason exhorteth, as also sundrye examples of noble personages, which as compendiously as I can, I will now bring to the readers remembrance.

The commendation of loyaltie.

What time Saul, for his grieuous offences was abandoned of almighty God (whome of a very poore mans sonne, God aduanced to the kingdome of Israel) & that Dauid being his seruauant, and as poore a mans sonne as he, was elected by God to reygne in Israel, and annoynted Kinge by the Prophet Samuel. Saul beeing therefore in a rage, hauing indignatio at Dauid, pursued him with a great host to haue slayne him, who (as

Faithfulness in subiects,

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long as he mought fled, and forbare Saul as his souereigne lord. On a time Dauid was so inclosed by the armye of Saule, that hee mought by no wayes escape, but was fayne to hide him & his men, in a great caue, which was wide and deepe in the earth. During the time that he was in the caue, Saul not knowing ther off, entred into the caue, to doe his naturall easement: which the people of Dauid perceiuing, exhorted him to slay Saul hauing such opportunitie, saying: God hadde bzought his enimie into his handes, & that Saul beeing slayne, the warre were all at an ende, considering that the people loued better Dauid then Saul. But Dauid refusinge their counsaile, sayd: He would not lay violent handes on his souereigne Lord, beeing, a king annoynted of God: but softly approached to Saul, and cut of a peece of the nether part of his mantel. And after that Saul was departed out of the caue towarde his campe, Dauid called after him, saying: whom pursuest thou noble Prince, with other wordes rehearsed in the Bible, in the firste booke of Kings, and than shewed to him the parte of his mantel. wherewith Saul being abashed, recognised his vnkindnesse, calling Dauid his deere sonne, and trustie friende, recommending to him, his childzen and progeny, since by the will of God he was elected to succede him in the kingdome of Israel. And so departed Saul from Dauid.



yet notwithstanding, afterward hee pursued him in Gaddi . And in a nighte when Saul and his armye were at reste , and that Dauid by an espyall , knewe they were all fast on sleepe, toke with him a certeine of the most assured and halpant personages of his hoaste, and in most secrete wise came to the paulton of king Saule, where hee founde him sleeping, hauing by him his speare, and a cuppe with water. Wherefoze one of the company of Dauid sayde , that hee with the speare of Saule, woulde stryke him throughe and slay him. May sayde Dauid, our Lord forbid, that I suffer my souereigne Lord to be slayne. For he is annoynted of God. And therewith he toke the speare with the cuppe of water. And when he was a good distance from the hoast of Saul, he cryed with a loude voyce to Abner, which was then Marshall of the army of Saul, who answered and said : what art thou that thus disealest the King, which is nowe at his reste? To whome Dauid sayd, Abner, thou and thy company are worthe of death, that haue so neglygentlye watched your Prince. Where is his speare and the cuppe of water , that stode at hys beds head? Surely ye be but dead men, when he shall know it. And there-with he shewed his speare and cuppe with water . Whiche Saule perceiuing , and hearing the voyce of Dauid, cryed vnto him saying : Is not this this the voyce of my deare sonne Dauid? I

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uncourteously doe pursue him, and hee notwithstanding both to me good for euill. with other words, which to abbreviate the matter I passe over.

Histories  
in hangings

This noble history, and other semblable, either wrought in Arras, or cunningly painted, will much better besee me the houses of noble men, then the concubines and voluptuous pleasures of the same David and Salomon his sonne, which be more frequently expressed in the hangings of houses & counterpoyns, then the vertue and holynesse of the one, or the wise experiments of the other. But now will I passe over two histories, which be more strange, and therefore I suppose more pleasaunt to the reader.

Loving  
Seruant.

Xerxes, beeing King of Persia, the greate citie of Babilon rebelled against him, whiche was of such strength, that the king was not of power to subdue it, that perceiuing a gentleman, one of the counsaile of King Xerxes, named Zopirus, a man of notable wisdom, unwitting to anye person, did cut off his owne eares and nose, and priuily departed toward Babilon: And being knowne by them of the Citie, was demaunded who had so disfigured him. Vnto whome he answered with apparant tokens of heavinesse, that forasmuch as he had giuen to Xerxes counsaile and aduice, to be reconciled vnto their citie, he being mooued with yze and displeasure toward him in most cruell wise, caused him

him to bee so shamefully mutulate. Adding ther-vnto reprochfull words, against Xerxes. The Babiloniās beholding his miserable estate, & the tokens, which (as it seemed to the) approued his words to be true, much pitied him: And as wel for the great wisdom, that they knewe to be in him, as for the occasion, which as they supposed shoulde incense him, to be shortly auenged, made him their chiefe Captaine, and committed wholly to him the gouernāce & defēce of their citie: which happened in euery thing according to his expectation. Where-vpon he shortly gaue notice to the king of all his affaires and exploytures. And finally so endeauoured him-selfe by his wisdom, that he accorded the king and the citie, with-out any losse or damage to either of them.

wherefoze on a time the sayd king Xerxes, cutting a very great pomegranard, & beholding it faire and full of kernelles, sayde in the presence of all his Counsayle: Wee had leauer haue one such friēd, as Zopirus was, then as manye Babilons, as there were kernelles in the Pomegranard. And also that he rather would, that Zopirus were restozed againe to his nose and his eares, then to haue a hundzeth such cities as Babilon was.

which by the report of Writers was incomparable the greatest and fairest Citie of all the worlde.

The



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Cinnamus.

**T**he Parthians, in a ciuile discorde among themselves, dzaue Arthabanus their Kinge out of his Realme, and elected among them, one Cinnamus to be their king, Iazate king of Adiabenes, vnto whom Arthabanus was fled, sent an Ambassade vnto the Parthians, exhorting the to receiue againe Arthabanus: but they made aunswer that since the departing of Arthabanus, they had by a whole assent chosen Cinnamus, vnto whom they had done their fealtie, and were swozne his subiects, which oath they might not lawfullye breake. Ther-off hearing Cinnamus, who at that time was king ouer the, wrote vnto Arthabanus and Iazate, that they should come, and that he would render the realme of Parthia vnto Arthabanus.

And when they wer come, Cinnamus met with them adoyned in the robes of a king: and as he approached Arthabanus, alpyghting downe of his horse, saide in this wise: Sir, whē the people had expelled you out of your realme, and wold haue translated it vnto another, at their instance I tooke it. But when I perceiued their rancor asswaged, and that with good will they would haue you againe, which are their natural souereine lord, & that nothing letted, but only y they wold nothing do contrary to my pleasure, with good will, and for no dread oz other occasiō, as ye may perceiue, do here render your realm estsones  
vnto

unto you, and there-with taking the diadem  
of from his owne head, did set it immediatly  
vpon the head of Arthabanus.

The fidelitie of Ferdinando (Kynge of A faithfull  
Tutor.  
Aragon) is not to be forgotten, whome his

brother Henrye, king of Castile, deceasing,  
made gouernour of his sonne, beyng an In-  
fant. This Ferdinãdo with such Justice, ru-  
led and ordered the Realme, that in a parlia-  
ment holden at Castile, it was treated by  
the whole consent of the nobles & people, that  
the name or tytle of the kingdome of Spaine  
should be giuen vnto him. Whiche honoure  
he sayning to receyue thankfully, dydde put  
vpon him a large and wide robe, where-in he  
secretly bare the yong Prince his newew, &  
so came to the place, where, for the saide pur-  
pose, the nobles and people were assembled,  
demaunding of euery man his sentence.

Whoe, with one voyce, gaue vnto him the  
kyngdome of Spayne. With that he tooke  
out of his robe, the little babye his newew,  
and setting hym on his shoulder, sayde all a-  
loude vnto them: Loe ye Castilians, beholde  
here is your king. And then he confirmyng  
the hartes of the people toward his newew,  
synally deliuered to him his Realme in peace  
and in all thyngs abundant. This is the fy-  
delitie that appertayneth to a noble and gen-  
tle harte.

In what hatred and perpetuall reproche  
sought they to be, that corrupted with pessi-  
lenciall

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leucial Avarice or Ambition, do betray their maisters, or any other that trusteth them: What monstrous personnes haue we red and hearde of, which for the inordinate and diuillike appetite to reigne, haue most tirannously slayne the Childzen, not onely of their souerieinge Lordes: but also their owne naturall bretherne, committed vnto their gouernance: of whome purposely I leaue at this time to write, because the most cursed remembrance of them shall not consume the time, that the well disposed reader mought occupie in examples of vertue.

Vengeance  
for treason.

This one thing, I would ver resembred, that by the iust prouidence of God, disloyalty or treason seldome escapeth great vengeance: All be it that it be pretended for a necessarie purpose.

Example wee haue of Brutus and Cassius, two noble Romaines, and men of excellent vertues, which pretendinge an honorable zeale to the libertie and common weale of their Citie, slewe Iulius Caesar, who trusted them mooste of all other, for that he vsurped to haue the perpetual dominion of the Empire, supposing ther by to haue brought the Senate and people to their pristinate libertie. But it did not so succede to their purpose. But by the death of so noble a Prince, hapned confusion and ciuill battayles: And bothe Brutus and Cassius, after long warres, vanquished by Octavian, Newewe and  
heye



theyre vnto Caesar, at the last falling into extreme desperation, slew them selues. A worthy and conuenient vengeance for the murder of so noble and valiaunt a prince. Many other like examples do remaine, as well in writing, as in late remembrance, which I passe ouer for this time.

¶ Of promise and couenaunt. Cap. 7.

**C**oncernynge that parte of Fidelitie, whiche concerneth the keepynge of promise, or couenants, experience declareth how little it is now had in regarde, to the notable rebuke of all vs, whiche do professe Chyistes religion. Consideringe that the Turkes and Saryzens haue vs therfore in contempt and derision, they hauing fidelitie of promise aboue all thinge in reuerence. But no meruaile, that a bare promise holdeth not, where an othe vpon the Euangelistes solempnely and openly taken, is but little esteemed. Lorde God, how frequente and samplar a thyng with euery estate and degree throughtout Chyisten-dome, is this reuerente othe on the Gospelles of Chyiste? How it hath bene hyther-to kepte, it is so well known and hadde in daily experience, that I shall not neede to make of the neglecting there-of, any more declaration. Onely I wylle shewe, howe the Gentylles, lackynge true Relygion,  
had

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had solmpne othes in great honour, and how terryble a thyng it was amonge them, to breake their othes or bowes. In so much as they supposed, that there was no power, by-croze or profite, which mought be equall to the vertue of an othe.

Periurie  
punished.

Amonge the Egyptians, they which were variured, had theyr heads stricken off, as well for that they violated the honoure due vnto God, as also that there by fayth and trust amonge people mought be decayed.

The Scithes sware onely by the chaire or throne of theyr king, whiche if they brake they therfore suffred death.

The forme  
of an othe  
among auncient Ro-  
maines.

The auncient Romaines (as Tully writeth) sware in this manner: he that shoulde sweare, helde in his hande a stone, and sayde in this wise: The Citie, with the Goddess ther-of, being safe, so Iupiter cast me out of it, if I deceiue wittingly, as I cast from me this stone. And this othe was so straightly obserued, that it is not remembred, that cuer any man brake it.

The greates-  
test othe.

Plutarcke writeth, that the fyrste Temple that Numa Pompilius, the second kyng of Romaines, made in the Citie of Rome was the Temple of Fayth. And also hee declared, that the greatest othe, that mought be, was Faith, which nowe adayes is vnceth taken for any othe, but most commonly is vsed in mockage, or in such things as men force not, though they be not beleueed.

Othes vsed

In

In daylye communication the matter savoreth not, except it be as it were seasoned with horryble othes. As by the holy bloudde of Chziste, his woundes, which for our redemption he painfullye suffred, his glozyous harte, as it were numbles chopped in pieces. Childzen (whiche abhorreth me to remember) doe playe with the armes and bones of Chzist, as they were chery stones. The soule of God, whiche is incomprehensible, & not to be named of any creature without a wonderful reuerence and dread, is not onely the oth of great gentlemen, but also so vndiscretely abused, that they make it (as I mought say) their gunnes, where-with they thunder out threathinges and terrible menacyes, when they be in their fury, though it be at the damnable playe of dice. The ~~same~~ in whiche honorable ceremony is left vnto vs the memoriall of Chzistes glozyous passyon, ~~the~~ his sacrament in forme of bread, the invocation of the thre divine persons in one deite, with all the whole company of blessed spirites and soules elect, is made by custome so simple an othe, that it is nowe almost neglected and little regarded of the nobillitye, and is onely vsed amonge husbandmen, and artificers: vnlesse some taylour or barbour, as well in hys othes as in the excesse of hys apparayle, wyll counterfeyte and be lyke a gentleman.

In iudiciall causes, bee they of neuer so

¶ i.

light



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1 yght importanunce , they that be no partyes  
but straungers, I meane witnesses and iu-  
rates, whyche shall proceede in the tryall, do  
make no lesse othe , but openlye do renounce  
the helpe of God and his saintes, and the be-  
nifit of his passyon, if they saye not true , as  
far-forth as they know. Howe cuill that is  
obserued, where the one party in degre farre  
exceedeth the other, or where hope of reward  
or affection taketh place, no man is ignozant,  
since it is euery ycare moze cōmon then har-  
uelt . Alas what hope shall we haue of anye  
publike weale, where such a pestylence reig-  
neth? Doth not Salomon say. A man much  
swearynge , shall bee fylled wpyth iniquy-  
tie, and the plague shall not departe from his  
house? O mercifull God, how manye menne  
be in this Realme , which bee horryble swea-  
rers, and common iurates perjured? Then  
howe muche iniquitye is there? and howe  
many plagues are to be feared, where as bee  
so many houses of swearers? Surely I am  
in moze dzed of the terrible vengeance of God  
then in hope of amendmente of the publyke  
weale . And so in mine opinion ought all o-  
ther to be , whiche beleeue, that God know-  
eth al thing that is done here in earth: and as  
he hym-selfe is all goodnesse, so loueth hee all  
thyng that is good, which is vertue, and ha-  
teth the contrary, which is vice. Also al thing  
that pleaseth hym , he p̄serueth , and that  
thing that he hateth, he at the last destroyeth:  
but

but what vertue may be without veritie, called trouth, the declaration wher of is fayth or fidelitie? For as Tully sayth: Fayth is a Fayths constaunce and trusth of thinges spoken or couenanted. And in an other place he saith: Nothing kepeth so together a publike weale as doth fayth. Then followeth it well, that with- out fayth a publike weale may not continue. And Aristotle sayth: by the same craft or meanes, that a publike weale is firste constituted, by the same craft or meanes is it preserved. Then since fayth is the foundation of Iustice, which is the chiefe constitutour and maker of a publyke weale, and by the afore mentioned authozitie, conseruatour of the same, I maye well conclude that fayth is both the originall, and (as it were) principall constitutour and conseruatoure of the publike weale.

It is also no little reproche vnto a man, which esteemeth honestie, to be light in making promise: Or when he hath promised, to breake or neglect it. Wherefore nothinge ought to be promysed, whiche shoulde be in any wyse contrarie to Iustice.

Promyse.

On a tyme, one remembred kynge Agesilaus of his promise: By God sayde he, that is trueth, if it stande with Iustice: if not, I than spake, but I promysed not.

Plutarchus  
in a pophe  
thegma,

But nowe at this present tyme, we maye make the exclamation, that Seneca doeth,

Seneca de  
benefi.

saying: O the fowle and dishonest confession

¶ ii.

of

## The third booke

of the fraude or mischiefe of mankynde nowe adayes, Scales be moze set by then soules. Alas what reproche it is to chzisten men, and reioysing to Turkes and Sarazens, that nothyng is so exactlye obserued amonge them, as sayth, consistynge in lawfull promyse and couenant: And amonge chzisten men, it is so neglected, that it is moze often times broken then kepte: And not onely sealyng (whyche Seneca disdeygned, that it should be moze set by then soules) is vnneth sufficient, but also it is nowe come into suche a generall contempte, that all the learned men in the lawes of this Realme, whiche be also men of great wysedome, can-not with all their studye deuise so sufficient an instrument, to bynde a man to his promyse or couenaunt. But that there shall be some thing ther-in espyed, to bring it in argument, if it be denyed.

And in case that both the partes be equall in estimation or credence, or els he that denyeth, superyour to the other, and no wytnesses deposeith no knowledge of the thyng in demaunde, the promyse or couenaunte is vtterlye frustrate, which is one of the pryncypall decayes of the publik e weale, as I shall treat there-of moze largely hereafter. And here at this time I leaue to speake any moze of the partes of that most royall and necessary vertue, called Justice.



Of the noble vertue Fortitude, and of  
the two extreame vices. Audacitie,  
and Timorositie. Cap. 8.

**I**t is to be noted, that to him that is a go-  
uernour of a publyke weale, belongeth a Gouernāce  
double gouernance, that is to saye, an inte- double.  
riour or inward gouernance, & an exterior  
or outward gouernance. The first is of his  
effects & passions, which do inhabite with in  
his soule, and be subiects to reason. The se-  
cond is, of his childzen, his seruants, & other  
subiects to his authoritie. To the one & the  
other is required y<sup>e</sup> vertue moral called Fo-  
ritude, which as much as it is vertue, is a  
Mediocritie or mean between two extremi-  
ties, the one in surplussage, the other in lacke.  
The surplussage is called Audacitie, the lacke Audacitie.  
Timorositie or feare: I name that Audaci-  
tie, which is an excessiue & inordinate trust,  
to escape all daungers, and causeth a man to  
do such acts, as are not to be ieoparded. Ti- Timorositie  
morositie is as well when a man feareth such  
things, as be not to be feared, as also when  
hee feareth thinges to bee feared, more then  
needeth. For some things are necessary and  
good to bee feared, and not to feare them is  
but rebuke. Infamie and reproche be of all  
honest men to bee dzeade. And not to feare  
things that be terrible, against which no po-  
wer or witte of man can resist, is foolhardi-  
nesse,

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nesse, and woꝛthy no pꝛayse, as earthquakes, rages of greate and sodeyne fouds, whiche doe beare downe befoze them Mountaynes, and great Townes. Also the horrible surge of sodayne fire, deuouringe all thinge that it appꝛhendeth. Yet a man that is valyaunt called in Latine, Fortis, shall not in such terrible aduentures, be resolued into wailynge or desperation.

A valyant  
man.

But where foꝛce constrayned him to abide, and neyther power or wisdomē assayed, may suffice to escape, but will he or no, hee muste needes perishe, there doth he patiently sustein deathe, which is the ende of all euils. And lyke an excellent Physition cureth most daungerous diseases and deadly wounds: so doth a man that is valyant, aduance him selfe as inuincible in things, that doe seeme most terrible, not vnadvisedly, as it were in a beastly rage, but of a gentle courage, and with premeditation, either by victoꝛy or by death winning honour and perpetual memory, the iust reward of their vertue.

Of this manner of valyance, was Horatius Cocles, an auncient Romaine, of whose example I haue already wꝛitten, in the first booke wher I comended, the feate of swimming.

King Pir  
thus the  
hardie.

Pirrus, whome Annibal esteemed to bee the second of the most valyaunt Capitaines, assaulting a stronge Fortresse in Sicile called Enice, first of all other scaled the walles wher  
he

he behaued him so valyantly, that of such as resisted, some he slew, and other by his maiestie and fierce countenance he did discomfite. And finally befoze anye of his army entered the walles, and there alone sustayned the whole bzunte of his enemies, vntill his people which were with-out, at the last missing him, stirred partly with shame that they had so lost him, partly with his couragious example, tooke good heart, and inforced themselves in suche wise, that they clymbed the walles, and came to the succoure of Pirrhys, and so by his prowesse, wanne the Garrison.

What valyant heart was in the Romaine Mutius Scæuola, whiche when Porcena, King of Ethruschanes, had by great power, constrayned the Romaines, to keepe them, within their citie, tooke on him the habite of a begger, and with a sworde prynlye hid vnder his garment, went to the enemies camp, where he beeing taken for a begger was nothing mistrusted: and when hee had espyed the Kings paulyon, hee drewe him thether, where he found diuers noble men sitting.

But forasmuch as hee certeinelye knewe not whiche of them was the Kinge, at the laste perceyning one to bee in moze rich apparayle then any of the other, and supposing him to bee Porcena, hee ere anye man espyed him stept to the sayde Lorde, and with hys swoorde gaue him such a stroake, that hee



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immediately dyed. And Scauola being taken (for he coulde not escape suche a multitude) boldly confessed, that his hande erred, and that his entente was to haue slayne Kinge Porcena. Where-with the King (as reason was) all chauffed, commaunded a great fire forthwith to be made, wherin scauola shold haue bene burned, but hee nothing abashed, sayde to the Kinge: Thinke not Porcena, that by my death onely, thou mayst escape the handes of the Romaines, for there bee in the citie thre hundred young men, such as I am, that bee prepared to slaye thee, by one meanes or other, and to the accomplishment ther-off, be also determined to suffer all torments, wher off thou shalt haue of me an experience in thy sight: and incontinetly went to the fire, which was made to burne him, and with a gladde countenaunce did put hys hande into the flame, and there helde it, with-out chaunging of anye countenaunce, vntill his sayde hande was burned vnto ashes. In lyke-wise he would haue put his other hande into the fire, if hee had not bene with-drawn by Porcena, who wonderinge at the valpant courage of Scauola, lycensed him to retourne vnto the Citie. But when hee considered, that by the wordes of Scauola, so greate a number of younge men of semblable prowesse, were confederate to hys destruction. so that ere all they coulde be apprehended his life should be alway in icopar-

die

die, he despairing of winning y<sup>e</sup> citie of Rome,  
raysed his siege and departed.

In what actes fortitude is, & considerations  
there-to belonging, Cap. 9.

**B**Ut although I haue nowe rehearsed  
sundry examples, to the commendati-  
on of Fortitude, concerning acts mar-  
ciall: yet by the waye I woulde haue it re-  
membred, that the praise is properlye to bee  
referred vnto the vertue: that is to say, to en-  
terprise things dreadfull, either for the pub-  
lyke weale, or for winning of perpetuall ho-  
nour, or els for eschewing reproach or disho-  
nour. Where vnto be annexed these conside-  
rations, what importaunce the enterpryse is,  
and wherefore it is done, with the time and  
oppoortunitie when it ought to be done.

For (as Tully sayth) to enter in battayle,  
and to fight vnadvisedly: is a thing wilde, &  
a manner of beastes: thou shalt fight valy-  
antly, when time requireth, and also neces-  
sitie. And alway death is to be preferred be-  
fore Seruitude, or anye dishonestie. And  
therefore the actes of Annibal, againste the  
Saguntines, which neuer did him displeasure,  
is not accounted for any prowesse. Neither  
Catiline, whiche for his singular commodi-  
tie, and a fewe other, makinge detestable  
warres against his owne Countrey, en-  
tending to haue burned the noble Cittie of  
Æ. v. Rome

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Rome, & to haue destroyed all the good men, is not numbred amōg valyant men, although hee fought manlye and with greate courage, vntill he was slayne.

Who may  
be called a  
valiant mā

What auayled the boldnesse at Vario and Flaminius noble Capitaines of Romaines, which dispising the prowesse and craft of Annibal, and contempning the sober counsell of Fabius, hauing only trust in their owne hardines, lost two noble armies, wherby the power of the Romaines was neere vtterly perished. Wherefore eftsoones I say that a valyant man is hee that doth tollerate or suffer that which is needeful, and in such wise as is needeful, & for that which is needefull, & also when it is needeful. And he that lacketh any of this may be called hardy, but not valyant.

More ouer, although they, which be hardy or persons desperate, haue a similytude & seme to be valiant, yet be they not valiant, no more then Kings in May games & Enterludes be kings. For they that be hardy, ere they come to the perill seme to be fierce and eager, and in beginning their enterpryse wonderfull hastie, but when they feelee the thinge more hard and grieuous then they esteemed, their courage decayeth more and more, and as men abashed and vnprepared, their harts vtterly do faile: & in conclusion they appeare more faint then they that be cowards.

Also in desperation can not bee fortitude: for that being a moral vertue, is euer voluntarie,



tarie. Desperation, is a thing as it wer constrained, neither hath any manner consideration, where fortitude expendeth euery thing and acte dilygently, and doth also moderate it with reason.

Heere now appeareth (as I suppose) that neither they which employe their force without iust cause or necessitie, nor they which without forecast (or as I might say) circumspection, will take in hande an harde enterprise: nor they, which headlong will fall into daungers, from whence there is no hope to escape: nor yet men desperate, which dye willingly without an motion of honour or zeale toward the publyke weale, bee in the number of valyant persons, but of a refuse company, and rather to be reckoned with beasts sauage, then amonge men which doe participate with reason. For as Curtius saith: It appertcineth to men that be valyaunt, rather to dispise death, then to hate lyfe.

Q Curtius

A man is called in Latine, Vir, where off sayth Tully, vertue is named. And the moeste proper vertue belonging to a man is Fortitude, wher-off be two excellent properties: that is to saye, the contempt of death, and of griefe. But what very fortitude is, hee moze playnely declareth afterward, in a moze larger circumscription, sayinge. Things humaine ought to be lyttle esteemed, death not regarded, labors & griefes to be thought tolerable. When this is ratified by iudgement

Fortitude.

and

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Aristotle.

and a constant opinion, then that is valiant, and stable fortitude. But ther-vnto I wold should be added: which opinion and Iudgement proceedeth of a reason, and not repugnant to Justice. And then it shal accord with this saying of Aristotle. A valiant man susteineth & doth that which belongeth to fortitude, for cause of honestie. And a lyttle before he sayth: A man that is valiant, as wel suffreth, as doth y, which agreeeth with his worshop, and as reson commaundeth. So no byolence or sturdy minde, lacking reason and honestie, is any part of fortitude. Vnto this noble vertue be attendant, or as it were continuall adherences, diuers vertues, whiche doe ensue, and bee of right greate estimation.

Of paynefulnesse, the first companion  
of Fortitude. Cap. 10.

**I**n them, which bee either Gouvernours  
or Capitaines, or in other office, where-  
vnto apperteineth greate cure, or dispat-  
ching of sundry great affaires, painefulnesse  
named in Latin, Tollerantia, is wonderfull  
commendable. For there by thinges bee in  
such wise exployted, that vtilitie proceedeth  
there off and seldome repentaunce. For as-  
much as theroff comieth an excellent fruit,  
called opportunitie, which is euer ripe, & ne-  
uer in no other estate. For lacke of this ver-  
tue

the, muche wysedome, and many a balpaunt enterpryse, haue perished, and tourned to none effecte. For if thinges sharplye inuented, prudently discusse, and valiantly enterprised, be not dilligently followed, and without ceassyng applyed and pursued, as it were in a moment, all thing is subuerted: and the paynes befoze taken with the tyme therein spent, is vtterly frustrate.

The peynfulnesse of Quintus Fabius, (being dictatoz or principall Capitaine of the Romaines) in leading his Armye by mountaynes and other harde passages, so dysappointed Annibal of the hope of victozy, wher in he so much glozied, that at the last he trained and drew Annibal and his hoste into a fyeelde, inclosed about with mountaines, and deepe ryuers, where Fabius had so enuironed him, by the fortifying of two mountaynes with his people, that they were in icoperdie, cyther to be famished, for lacke of vitayl, or els in fleyng to be slaine by the Romaines, if the craftye and polytike witte of Annibal, had not deliuered them. which for the notable inuention, I will bozowe so much tyme of the reader, to renewe the remembraunce ther-of in our englyshe tongue.

Annibal, perceyuing the daunger that hee and his army wer in, commaunded in the depe of the nyght, when nothyng was sterynge, to bee brought afoze hym, about two thousand great Oxen and Bulles, which a little before

The policy of Annibal to escape from the Romaines.



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before his men had taken in forragyng , and caused faggottes made of dye styckes to be fastned vnto their hoznes , and sette on fyre. The beastes troubled with the flame of fyre, ranne as they were wodde , by towarde the Mountaines, where as layde the hoste of the Romaines. Annibal , with his whole army following in a-rye. The Romaines, whiche kepte the mountaines , beyng soze affrayde of this new and terryble sight, forsooke their places . And Fabius dreading the deceptfull witte of Annibal , kept the army with-in the trenche , and so Annibal wpth his hoste escaped with-out domage . But Fabius beyng painfull in pursuing Anniball from place to place , lawayghting to haue him at aduauntage , at the last did so satygate him and hys hoste , that there-by in conclusion hys power mynyshed , and also the strength of the Carthaginenses , of whom he was Generall Capitaine. In so much as they were at the last constrained to countermaunde hym by sundye messengers , wylling him to abandonne the warres in Italy , and to returne to the defence of his owne Citie . whiche, by the opinion of moste excellent wyrters shoulde neuer hane hapned , if Fabius woulde hane left anye parte of his purpose , eyther for the tediousnesse of the paine and trauayle , or for the intollerable rebukes , giuen vnto him by Minutius , whoe embayded him wpth cowardyse.

Amonge

Amonge the vertues, which abounded in Julius Cæsar, none was accompted more excellent, then that in his counsels, affaires and exploytures, he omitted no time, neither forsooke any paine. wherfore most soonest of any man, he atchieued and brought to good pass all thing that he enterprysed.

Suppose ye, that the same Annibal, of whome wee late spake, coulde haue wonne from the Romaines, all Spayne, and haue pierced the Mountaynes, called Alpes, makinge a waye for hys Armye, where before was neuer any passage, and also haue gotten all Italie, vnto Rome Gates, if hee hadde not bene a paynfull man, and of labour incomparable?

Julius Cæsar, after hee had the entyre gouernance and dominyon of the Emprye of Rome, neuer omitted laboure and diligence as well in common causes, as pryuate, concerninge the defence and assistaunce of innocentes. Also he labourously and studiousely discussed controuersies, which almost dayly, he hearde in his owne person.

Painfulness  
in hearyng  
controuersies.

Troiane, and both Antonines Emperours of Rome, and for their vertue worthy to bee Emperours of all the world, as well in exterior affaires, as in the affayres of the Citie, were euer so continually occupied, that breeth they found anye little time, to haue anye recreation or solace.

Alexander also, for his incomparable gra-  
uitie

## The Gouvernour

The patern  
of a perfect  
Gouvernor.

ultype, called Seuerus, beyng but of the age of xviij yeares, when he first was made Emperour, findynge the noble Citie of Rome, then Maistresse of the world, thoughly corrupted with moſte abhominable vices, by the moſte ſhamefull example and lyuinge of that detestable Monſter, Varius Helyogabalus, next Emperour before him, a great parte of the Senate and nobilitie, being resolved into ſemblable vices, the Chynatrye dyspersed, marcyall prowesse abandoned, and wel-nygh the maiestie imperiall dissolved and brought in contempt, was so inflamed with the zeale of the pryſtinate honour of the Romaines, that he vtterly layde apart all pleasures and quietnesse, and wholly gaue his wit and bodye to studie and trauailes intollerable, and chosynge out of all partes of the worlde, men of greatest wysedome and experyence, and consultynge with them, neuer ceased, vntyll he hadde reduced as well the Romaines, as all other Cities and Prouinces vnto their subiecte, to their olde moderation and temperaunce.

Many other examples coulde I rehearse to the commendation of paynefulnesse: but these shall suffice at this present tyme, to proue that a gouernour must nedes be perynfull in hys owne person, if he desire to haue those thynges prosper, that are vnder his gouernance.

Of



Of the noble and fayre vertue, named  
Patience. Cap. 11.

**P**atience is a noble vertue apperteyning  
as wel to inward gouernance, as to ex-  
terior gouernance: and is the vanqui-  
sher of iniuries, the sure defence against  
all affects and passions of the soule, retayning  
alwayes gladd semblant in aduersityte and  
dolour.

Saint Ambrose sayeth in his booke of offi- Abm. Off. 3  
ces, better is he that contemneth iniury, then  
he that sorroweth. For he that contemneth it,  
as he nothing felte, passeth not on it. But he  
that is sorrowful, is therewith tormented, as  
though he felt it.

Whiche was well proued by Zeno Elea-  
tes, a noble Philosopher, who beyng a man  
of excellent wisdom and eloquence, came  
to a Citie, called Agrigentum, where reigned  
Phalaris, the most cruell tyranne of all the  
worlde, whoe kept and vsed his owne people  
in moste myserable seruitude. And firste hee  
thought by his wisdom and eloquence, to  
haue so perswaded the tyranne to temperance  
that hee shoulde abandon his cruell and aua-  
ricious appetite: but custome of vice more  
preuayled in hym, then profitable counsaile.  
Wherefore Zeno, hauing pyttie of the wret-  
ched estate of the people, excyted dyuers no-  
ble men, to deliuer the Citie of that seruple  
condition. This counsaile was not so se-

y.i.

cretly

## The Gouvernour.

cretly giuen, but that notice there of came to the tyzanne, who causing all the people to be assembled in the market place, caused Zeno there to bee cruciate with sundry tozmentes, alwayes demaunding of him, whoe did participate with him of his sayde counsayle: but for no paynes would hee confesse any person, but induced the tyzanne to haue in mistruste his nexte friendes and familiar seruantes. And repprouinge the people for their cowardise and dread, he at the last so inflamed them vnto libertie, that sodeinlye with a great violence they fell on the tyzanne, and pressed him with stones. The olde Zeno, in all his exquisite tozmentes neuer made anye lamentable crie, or desire to be relieued.

But for this fourme of Pacience, this onely example suffyseth at this tyme, since there be so frequent examples of Martyres whiche for true religion susteyned patientlye not onely equall tozmentes with Zeno, but also farre exceeding. But now will I write of that pacience, that pertayneth vnto interior gouernaunce, wher-by the natural passions of man bee subdued, and the malyce of fortune sustained. For they which bee in authoritie, and bee occupied about great affaires, their liues be not onely replenished with laboures and grievous dyspleasure, but also they be subiectes to sundry chaunces.

pacience,  
howe it

The meane to obtayne Pacience, is by two thynges principally, A dyrecte and by  
ryght

maye be  
obtained.

ryght conscience, and true and constant opinion in the estimation of goodnesse, which sel-  
dome commeth onelye of nature, except it bee  
wonderful excellent, but by the diligent study  
of verie philosophye (not that whiche is so-  
phisticate, and consisteth in sophisines) na-  
ture is ther-to prepared and holpen. This o-  
pinion is of such power, that once cleauinge  
fast to the minde, it draweth a man as it were  
by violence to good or euill. Therefore Tully  
saith: Like as when the bloud is corrupted,  
and eyther flueme or colere, blacke or redde,  
is superabundaunt, that in the bodye bee in-  
gendred sores and diseases, so the vexation  
of euill opinyons, and their repugnancie, dis-  
poyleth the minde of all health, and troubleth  
it with griefes.

Opinion  
good or ill,

Tusc. q. 2.

Contrariwise afterward Tully describeth  
good Opinion, and calleth it the beauty of the  
soule, saying in this wise: As of bodily mem-  
bers, there is an apte figure, with a manner  
pleasauntnesse of colour, and that is called  
beautie: so in the soule, the equalitie and con-  
staunce of opinions and iudgements, ensuing  
vertue, with a stable and stedfast purpose, or  
containyng the self same effect, that is in ver-  
tue, is named Beauty. Which sentences de-  
lye inuestigate, and well perceiued, by them  
that be about Princes and gouernours, they  
may consider, how ware and circumspect they  
oughte to bee in the inducinge them to opy-  
nions.

Beauties



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Of pacience in susteyning wronges and rebukes. Cap. 12.

**V**nto hym that is valyaunte of courage, it is a great payne and dyfficultye to susteyne iniurye, and not to bee forthwith reuenged: & yet often tymes there is accounted moze valiantnesse, in the sufferance, then in any hasty reuenging. As it was in Antoninus the Emperour, called the philosopher, against whom rebelled one Cassius, and vsurped the imperiall Maiestie in Syria, and in the Easte partes: yet at the last the same Cassius beyng slayne by the Capataynes of Antonine next adioynning, he therof dwitting, was therewith soze grieved. And therfore takyng to hym the chyliden of Cassius, entreated them honourablye, whereby hee acquired euer after, the incomparable and most assured loue of his subiectes.

As much dishonour and hatred his sonne Commodus wan by his impacience, wherein he so exceded, that for as much as he found not his baine heat to hys pleasure, hee caused the keeper ther-of, to be throwne into the hot burnyng furnace. What thyng might bee moze odyble, then that mozte dyuelish impacience?

Iulius Cæsar, when Catullus the Poette wrote againste hym contumelyous or reprocheable verses, not onely forgaue him: but to make him his friend, caused him often tymes

to

to suppe with him.

The noble Emperour Augustus, when it was shewed him, that many men in the citie hadde of him vnfitting wordes, thought it a sufficient aunswere, that in a free Citie men must haue their tongues at lybertie. Noz neuer was with any person, that spake euill of him in word oz countenance worse discontented.

Some men will not praise this manner of patience, but accompt it for foolishnesse: but if they beholde on the other side, what incommoditie comineth of impatience, howe a man is ther-with abstract from reason, and tourned into a monstrous figure, and doe conferre al, that with the stable countenance and pleasaunt regarde of him that is pacient and with the comoditie that dothe ensue ther-off they shall affirme that simplicitie is an excellent wisedome.

Remedie  
against im-  
pacience.

More-ouer, the best way to be aduenged, is so to contemn iniury and rebuke, & liue with such honestie, that the doer shal at the last be theroff ashamed, oz at y least leese the fruit of his malice, that is to say, shal not reioyce and haue glozy of thy hindzance oz damage.

Of Patience in repulse or hinderance of promotion. Cap. 13.

**T**O a man hauing a gentle courage, lyke wise as nothing is so pleasant, oz equally

Y. iij.

reioy=

## The Gouvernour.

reioyceth him, as rewarde or pzeferment so-  
dainly giuen, or about his merite, so nothing  
may be to him moze displeasent or painefull,  
then to be neglected in his pain taking, and  
the reward & honour that he loketh for, & for  
his merites is woorthy to haue, to be giuen to  
one of lesse vertue, & perchance of no vertue  
or laudable qualytic.

Plato in his Epistle to Dion king of Sicile,  
sayth: It is good right that they, which bee  
good men, & do the semblable, obtaine honoz,  
which they be woorthy to haue.

Commodi-  
ties which  
do happen  
by the ad-  
uancement  
of good  
men.

Undoubtedly in a Prince or Noble man,  
maye be nothing moze excellent, yea nothing  
moze necessary, then to aduance men after  
the estimation of their goodnesse, and that  
for two speciall comodities, that come ther-  
off. First that there-by they prouoke manye  
men to apprehende vertue. Also to them,  
which be good, & are already aduanced they  
giue such courage, that they endeauour them-  
selues with all their power, to increase that  
opinion of goodnesse, where-by they were  
brought to that aduancement which needs  
must bee to the honour and benefite of those,  
by whome they were so promoted. Contra-  
rwise, where men from their Infancie haue  
ensued vertue, wozne the flourishing time  
of youth in paynfull studie, abandoning al  
lustes and other thinge, which at that time  
is pleasaunt, trusting there-by to profite the  
publyke weale, and to obteyne honour: when  
either



either their vertue and trauaile is lyttle regarded, or the preferment, which they looked for, is giuen to other not equall in merite, it not onely pearceth their hearte with much anguish, and oppresseth them with discomfort, but also mortifieth the courages of manye other, whiche bee aptely disposed to studie vertue, and hoped there by to haue the proper rewarde there-off, which is commendation and honour, which beeing giuen to men, lacking vertue and wisdom, shall bee occasion for them to doe euill, as Democritus sayth: For who doubteth, but that authoritie in a good man doth publysh his vertue, which before lay hid: In an euill man, it ministreth boldnesse and licence to doe euill, which by dread was before couered.

Surely this repulse, (as they vulgarly speake) putting backe from promotion, is no lyttle payne or discomfort, but it maye be withstanded, or at the leaste remedied with Patience, which maye bee in this wise induced.

First, considering that the world was neuer so constant, that at all times before, good men were iustly rewarded, and none but they onely promoted. Patience  
howv it  
may be in-  
duced.

Cato, called Vticensis, at whose wisdom all the world wondred, and whose grauitie, as well the senate and people of Rome, as other Kinges and Princes, reuerenced,  
y.iiij. looking

## The Gouvernour.

loking to be one of the Consuls, was openly reiected, wherwith his friends and kinsmen toke no little discomfort. But Cato himself, so little regarded that repulse, that wher alwayes he went very homely, he the next day following, decked & trimmed him-selfe moze freshly then he was wont: And when he had shewed him-self so to y people, at after noone he walked with one of his friēds in the market place, bare legged and in single apparail as he was accustomed.

Scipio called Nasica, who by the whole senate was iudged the best man in the citie, and of an auncient house, was likewise put back, from being Consull.

Lælius lyke-wise, which was openlye called the wise man, was seemblably refused. And diuers other of whō histories do make mention, were abiect, when they had wel deserved honours, and their inferiours in merites promoted.

Also a mans conscience shall well comfort him, when hee hath so lyued, that where hee is knowen, men doe iudge him worthe the preferment. And then may hee saye to them, which meruayle why he is not aduanced, as Cato said to a person, that told him that men wondzed, why among so manye noble mens Images, as were sette vp in the Citie, Catos Image was not espyed. By God sayde Cato, I had leuer that men wondzed why I haue none Image sette vp, then why men should

A vvise  
sentence of  
Cato.

shold set by mine image. So if me meruaile why a man is not aduanced, knowing him a good man, then iudge they him to be worthy promotion, which iudgement proceedeth of fauour : and then if he lacke promotion, yet hath he perfect gloze, which euery noble heart desireth. For Tully sayth: The perfect and most principall gloze, consisteth in these three things: if the multitude loue vs, if they put confidence in vs : if also, as it wer meruailing at vs, they thinke vs worthy to haue honour giuen vnto vs.

With this gloze and cleanness of conscience, shall a wise man content him, and be induced to patience, and not bee grieved with his fortune : but to follow Democritus, in laughing the blynde iudgements of men, in bestowing promotions.

I omit, at this time to write any more of this vertue Patience, since to the institution of a Gouvernour, this seemeth to be sufficient, to the residue he shal be better perswaded by the workes of Plutarch, Seneca, and Pontane, wher they write of patience, which workes he may read at his leasure.

Of Magnanimitie, which may be named,  
valyant courage. Cap. 14.

Magnanimitie, is a vertue much commendable, and also expedient to bee in a gouernour, and is as I haue sayde,  
y. v.



## The Gouvernour.

a companion of fortitude: and may be in this wise defined, that it is an excellēcie of minde, concerning things of great importance or estimation, doing all thing that is vertuous, for the atchieving of honour.

Courage.

But now I remember mee, this woorde Magnanimitie, beeing yet straunge, as late borrowed out of the Latine, shall not content all men, and specially them, whome nothing contenteth out of their accustomed Mumpsimus: I will adventure to put for Magnanimitie, a word more familiar, calling it good Courage, which having respect to the sayde definition, shal not seme much inconuenient. But now concerning a more larger description of the sayd vertue, Aristotle saith: That man seemeth to be of noble courage, that is worthy, and also iudgeth himselfe worthy to haue things that be great. He sayth also afterward: Noble courage is an ornament of vertues, for it maketh them the more ample, and without them the hir selfe may not be.

But I wil for a little time, leaue this noble Philosopher Aristotle, and reuerētly interpret a place in the Offices of Tully, where he most eloquently and playnely setteth out this vertue, saying: Alwaye a valyant and noble courage is discerned by two thinges specially: whrcoff one is in despising things outward, when a man is perswaded, neither to meruayle at any thing, neither to wish or desire any thing, but that which is honest.

More.

Moze-ouer that a man shoulde not bowe for any Fortune or trouble of minde. Another thing is: when thou art of that minde or courage, as I before sayde, that thou then practise those things not onely which bee great & most profitable, but also that be very difficile and full of labour & peril, as well concerning mans lyfe, as many other things therto apperteyning.

And afterward the same Tully sayth: To esteeme lyttle those thinges, which vnto the moze part of men seemeth excellent, and also with reason firme and stable to contempne them, is signe of a noble and valyaunt courage. Also to tollerate those things, which do seme bitter or grieuous (wheroff ther be many in the lyfe of man, and in fortune) in such wise as thou depart not fro the estate of nature, neither fro the worshop perceiuing vnto a wise man, betokeneth a good courage, & also much constance.

By this it seemeth, that Magnanimitie, or good Courage, is as it were the garment of Vertue, where-with she is sette oute (as I mought say) to the vttermost.

I meane not, that there-by vertue is amended or made moze beauteous, which of hirselfe is perfect: but lyke-wise as a Lady of excellentie beautie, though shee bee alwayes fayre, yet a riche and a fresh garment declareth hir estate, and causeth hir the moze to be looked on, and therby hir naturall beauty

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to be the better perceyued. Semblably doth Magnanimitie, ioynd with any vertue, set it wonderfully forth to be beholden, and (as I mought say) meruapled at, as it shall appeare abouydantly in the examples ensuing.

Agessilaus, king of Lacedemonia, in the beginning of his youth, perceyuing all Grece to bee in greate feare, for the same that was spread of the Persians, comming with an infinite army: with a noble courage proffered, not onely to defend his owne countrey, but also with a smal host to passe the Seas into Asia, and from thence, either to bring victory of the Persians, or els a sure and honourable peace. With whose courage the Lacedemons highly recomforted, delyuerd vnto him, ten thousand souldiours, with the which hoste he went into Asia, and there vanquished the Persians, and retourned ioyfullye into his countrey, with his people at safe, to his perpetuall renouine, and also the honour & suretie of all Grece.

Antigonus king of Macedonia, beeing on the sea, one of his Capitaines aduised him to depart, saying: The Navy of his enemy was much greater in number then his: wher-vnto with a noble courage, he answered: And for how many ships accompt you our persō? where-with his people tooke such comforte, that they boldly did set forth, and vanquished their enemies.

Such noble courage was in great Kinge  
Alexan-



Alexander, that in his warres agaynst Darius, hee was seene of all his people fyghtyng in the pzeace of his enymies bare headed.

I will not bee so vncurteise, to leaue vnmembred in this place, the notable magnanymitie of a king of England, which I hapned to reade late in an olde Chronicle.

Edgar, who in the time that the Saxons hadde this Realme in subiection, hadde subdued all the other kynges Saxons, and made them his tributaries. On a time he had them all with him at dinner: & after it was shewed hym, that Rynande kyng of Scottes, hadde sayde, that he wondred how hee should happen, that hee and other kinges, that were tall and great personages, would suffer them selues to bee subdued by so little a boye, as Edgar was. Edgar dyssembled and answered nothing: but sayning to go on hunting: tooke with him the Scottishe Kinge in hys companye, and purposely wyth-drewe him from them that were with him: And causing by a secrete seruaunt, two swerdes to be conueyde into a place into the fozeist, by him apponited. As soone as he came thither, he tooke the one sworde, and delyuered the other to Rynand, bydding him to proue his strengthe: and to assay, whether his deedes woulde ratifie hys wordes. Wher at the Scottishe kyng beyng abashed, beholdyng the noble courage of Edgar, with an horryble feare confessed his error, desyryng pardon, which he with moste humble

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humble submission, at the last obtained.

That noble kinge Edgar, declaring by hys Magnanimitie, that for his vertue, and not by chaunce, hee was elected to reigne ouer so noble a region.

Plato, for his diuine wisdom and eloquence, named the God of Philosophers, was sente for, by Dyonise, kyng of Sicyle, to the entent, as it seemed, that hee would be of him instructed, concernyng the publyke gouernaunce of his Realme. But when he had bene with him a certaine space, and would not flatter with the kinge, and by-holde hys tyranny, the kinge became wery of him: in so much, that if it had not bene at the requeste of Architas, Prince of Tarent, hee would haue put him to death. Wherefore partely at the desyre of that Prince, partely for feare of the Athenienses, hee lycensed Plato to departe, without domage: but at hys departyng, he sayde vnto him, as it were in despite: O how euill wylt thou speake of mee Plato, when thou comest amonge thy companions and schollers? Then Plato wryth a noble courage answered: God defende, there should be in my schole so much vacant time from the studie of wisdom, that there mought bee anye place left, once to remember thee.

Now will I make an ende of this vertue, and proceede further to write of some byces, which commonly do followe magnanimitie and with great dyfficultye may bee eschewed.

Of Obstinacie, a familiar vice, followyng  
Magnanimity. Cap. 15.

**T**he Prince of Orators, Marcus Tul-  
lius, in his fyrst booke of offices, saith:  
In heyght and greatnesse of courage,  
is most soonest ingendred Obstinacy,  
and inordinate desyre of souereintye. Obstinacy  
nacye is an affection immoueable, tyred to  
wyll, abandoninge reason, whiche is ingen-  
dred of Pryde: that is to saye, when a man  
esteemeth so much him selfe aboue any other,  
that he reputeth his owne witte onely, to bee  
in perfection, and contemneth all other coun-  
saile. And doubtles this in an horrible and pe-  
rillous vice, and verry familiar with them,  
whych bee of moste noble courages. By it  
many a valiant Captaine and noble Prynce,  
haue not onely fallen them selues, but also  
brought all theyr countreies in daunger, and  
ostentynes to subuersion and ruine.

The wyse kynge Salomon saith: Among  
proude men be alway contencions: And they  
that doo all thinges with counsaile, be gouer-  
ned by wisdom. I neede not to rehearse exā-  
ples out of olde wyters, what damage hath  
ensued of Obstinacye, consideringe that eue-  
ry history is ful ther-of, and we stil haue it in  
dayly experience. But of one thinge am I  
sure, where Obstinacie ruleth, and reason  
lacketh place: there counsell auaieth not, and  
where counsel hath not authority & franchises  
there



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Pro. 11.

there may nothing be perfect. Salomon saith: where bee many counsailes, there the people is in suretie. Now will I declare the residue of Tullies sentence, concerning inordinate desire of soueraintie, whiche is properlye called Ambition.

¶ Of an other vice folowing Magnanimity, called Ambition. Cap. 16.

It was not with-out a hygh and prudente consideration, that certayne lawes were made by the Romaines, whiche were named the lawes of Ambition, wher-by menne were restrained in the Citie to obteyne offices and dignities in the publyke weale, eyther by gyuinge rewardes, or by other slyfter labour or meanes: And they, whiche by that lawe were condemned, were put to death with-out any fauour. Merilye it was a noble lawe, and for all places necessarye, consideringe what inconuenience hapneth by this vaine and superfluous appetyte. Wyttnesses amonge the Romaines, Sylla, Marius, Carbo, Cinna, Pompey, and Cæsar, by whose ambition, mo Romaines were slaine, then in acquiringe the Emperre of all the worlde. Sylla condemned, and caused to be slaine, fourescore thousand Romaines, besyde manye moe that were slaine in the battailes, betwene him and the both Marius.

Also Pompey, and Iulius Cæsar, the one  
suffring

suffryng no piere, the other no superiour, by theyr ambition, caused to be slayne betwene them, people innumerable, and subuerted the best and most noble publike weale of the world: and finally hauing little time of reioysing their vnlawful desire, Pompey shamefully sleynge, had hys head stryken of by the commaundement of Ptolomee, kinge of Egypte, vnto whome, as vnto his friende, he fled for succour. Caesar the vanquisher, was murdered in the Senate with daggers, by them whome hee moste specialllye fauoured.

I coulde occupy a great volume with Histories of them, which coueting to mounte into excellent dignities, did ther-by bryng into extream perylles, bothe them selues, and also theyr countreyes. For as Tacitus sayth wonderfull elegantlye: wyth them whych desire souereigntie, there is no meane place betwene the toppe and the step downe. To the whiche wordes agreeyng, Tullie sayeth: Hygh authorities should not much be desired, or rather not to bee taken at some tyme, and often-times to be left and forsaken. So did Sylla, whome I late spake of. And Dioclesian Emperour of Rome, who after hee had gouerned the empire xxv. yeares honourablye (if he had not bene polluted wyth the bloudde of innumerable Chyristen men) wplyngly abandoned the Crowne and dignitie imperiall, and lyued ix. yeares on his pryuate possessions. And on a time beyng desired of

Cice. Off. 1.

Sextus  
Aurelius.

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Herculius and Galerius, vnto whome hee had resigned the Emppye, to take est-soones on him the gouernaunce, abhorring it as a pestilence, answered in this wise: I would ye did see the hearbes, that I haue with mine owne handes sowne and set at Salona, surely pee would not then in this wise aduise me.

Also Octanius Augustus, whiche in felicitie passed all Emperours, deuised often tymes with his friendes, to haue resigned hys authoritie. And if at that tyme the Senate had ben as wel furnished with noble and wise personages, as it was befoze the ciuill warres, betweene Cæsar and Pompey, it is to bee thought, that hee woude surely haue restored the common weale to his pristinate glorie. But now let vs see, what is the cause, that Ambition is so pernicious to a publike weale.

Ambition  
why it  
is ill.

In mine opinion it is for two causes principallye. First for as much as they, whiche be of that courage and appetite, when they be in authoritie, suppose al thing to be lawfull that lyketh them. And also by reason of their preheminence, would so be seperat from other that no man shoulde controll them, or warne them of their enormities: and finally would do what they list, with-out contradiction. Where-of doe ensue diuers iniuries and subuersion of iustice. And this, whiche I haue now saide, Tully affyrmeth to be true, saying: Verilie it is a great dyfficultie, where thou  
wouldest



wouldest be aboue al men, to obserue equitie. whyche is the thyng moſte approued to iuſtice. And ſhortlye after he ſayeth: The more hygher of courage that a man is, and deſyrus of glozpe, the ſooner is he moued to do thinges againſt ryght. Seeing it was ſo, in the tyme of Tully, when almoſte euery man that was in authoritie, had excellent learning, (the Romaynes brynging vp their children in ſtudy of morall philoſophy) what ſhall we ſuppoſe in our tyme, when fewe men in authoritie dooe care for learninge? Why ſhoulde wee thynke to bee more iuſtice nowe vſed in authoritie, than was in the tyme of Tully? Is there nowe pryuate affection, partycular fauour, dyſpleaſure and hatred, as was at that tyme? I woulde the readers here of, ſhould be iudges, examyning theſe my wordes with dayly experyence.

The ſeconde cauſe that condemneth Ambition, is couetiſe of treaſure, therewith to mayntaine their oſtentation and vain-glozpe, which ambitious perſonnes do call their honour, where-by they be procured to finde vniuſte meanes by their authoritie, to prouide for ſuch ſubſtaunce, where-with they maye bee not onely ſatiſfied (they beynge inſatiable) but according to their own appetite fully ſufficed. wherefore the Philoſophers, called Stoici, vſed this ſentence: Great indigence or lack cometh not of pouertie, but of great plenty: for he that hath much, ſhall neede much.

Couetiſe.

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Plutar. in  
apophtheg.

But certes suche ambycious personnes may well consider, that the magnificence and pompe, whiche they couette, is not so muche wondred at, as auarice and collection of money, is vniuersally hated. wherfoze Darius kinge of Persia, and father to Xerxes, when he had commaunded a subsidy to be leuied of his subiects, demaunded the chief men of the countreyes, whether they found them selues grieued. They answering, that they were in a meetely good case, he commaunded the one halfe to bee eftsoones restored, least he of any auarice should be suspected. By the whiche acte, hee stablyshed his dignitie, and made it moze perfect.

Cice. Off. 3.

Moreouer, Tully saieth, to take any thinge from an other man, and one man to encrease his commoditie with an other mans detriment, is moze repugnant to nature then death, then pouertie, paine, or other thinge that mought happen, eyther to the bodye, or other goodes worldly.

¶ The true definition of Abstinence  
and Continence. Cap. 17.

**A**bstinence and Continencie bee also companions of Fortitude, & be noble & excellent vertues, & I can not tell, whether there be any to be preferred before them, specially in men hauing authoritie, they beinge the byddes of two capitall vices.

vices, that is to say, Auarice and Lecherie. which vices being refrained by a noble mā, that liueth at libertie and with-out controule-ment, procureth vnto him, beside the fauour of God immortall gloze. And that citie or realme, wher-off the gouernours with these byces, be lyttle or nothing acquainted, doe abide long in prosperitie. For as Valerius Maximus sayth? whersoener this seruent pestilence of mankinde hath entry. Iniury reigneth, reproach or infamy is spread, & deuou- reth the name of nobilitie. The properties of these two vertues be in this manner.

Abstinence is, whereby a man refrayneth from any thing, which he may lawfully take for a better purpose. Continence is a vertue which keepeth the plesaunt appetite of man vnder the yoke of reason. Aristotle making them both but one, describeth the vnder the name of Continence, saying: He that is continent, forasmuch as he knoweth that couetous desires be euil, doth abandon them, reason perswading him. For this time I take abstinēce, for the refusing of money, possessions or other thing semblable: Continence, the onely forbearing the vnlawfull company of women.

Abstinence  
Continēce.

Martius Coreolanus, a noble young man, which lyneally descended from Ancus, sometime king of Romaines, when he hadde done many valpant actes, and atchieued sundrye enterprises, was accordinge to his merites



## The Gouvernour

commended in the army by Posthumius then beyng Consull, and by theyr vniuersall assent was rewarded wth al suche honours, as then appertained to a good warriour. Also with one hundred acres of arable land, the election of ten prisoners, ten horses appraised for the warres, one hundred of oxen, and as much silver as he mought beare. But of all this would he take nothing, but one only prisoner, which was of his acquaintance, and one Courser, which alwayes after he vsed in battaile.

Curius.

Marcus Curius, the very rule and paterne of Fortitude and moderate lyuing, when the people, called Samnites, which hadde warres with the Romaines, found him sitting in his house by the fire vpon a homely fourme, eating his meate in a dishe of tree, they bringing to him a great summe of gold by the consent of the people, and wondring at his povertie, with courteous language, desired him to take that they had brought him, he therat smiling, sayde thus vnto them; yee Ministers of a vayne and superfluous message, shew you to the Samnites, that Curius hadde leuer haue dominion ouer them than be rich, then he himselfe to haue riches. And as for this golde, which ye account precious, take it againe with y you, and remember, that ye can neither vanquish me in battaile, nor corrupt me with money.

Quintus Tubero, surnamed Catellius,  
what

what time he was Consul, y<sup>e</sup> people in Greec<sup>e</sup> called Aetoli, sent to him by their Ambassa<sup>d</sup>ours, a great quantitie of siluer vessell, curiously wrought and grauen. But when they came to him, they founde on his table vessell onely of earth. And when he sawe them, he exhorted them that they should not suppose, that his contentation in pouertie, shoulde be with their presents relieved. And with that saying, commaunded them to depart.

To Epaminides the Thebane, being in his time, as well in vertue as p<sup>r</sup>owesse the most noble man of all Greece, Artaxerxes kinge of Persia, to make him his friēd, sent one of his seruants to Thebes, with a great quantitie of treasure, which seruant knowing his manners, durst not offer it vnto him when hee came, but speaking to a young man, which was familiar with Epaminides, gaue vnto him a greate rewarde, to moue Epaminides to receiue the Kinges present. Who vnneth hearing the first wordes of the young man, commaunded the Kinges seruant to bee brought to him, vnto whome hee hadde these wordes.

Epamini-  
des.

Friend shew to the king, that hee needeth not to offer mee money: for if he haue anye thinge to doe with the Thebanes, for a good purpose, hee may haue their assistance without any rewarde: if the purpose be noughte, he can-not with all the treasure of the world hope to obtaine it.

J. iij.

which

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which words were spoken with such grauitie, that the sayd seruant, being afeard, desired Epaminides, that he might be safely coueyed out of the Citie: which hee graunted with good wil, least if the money were taken away, he might of the receiuing thereof haue bene suspected. Moreouer, hee caused the Thebane, which was his friend and companion, to restore to the Messenger the money that he had receiued.

Phocion.

Seemable abstinence was there in Phocion, a noble Counsaylour of Athens, vnto whome the Ambassadour of the great Kinge Alexander, broughte from theys Maister a hundred talents of golde, which were of english money twelue thousande pounce. But before that he heard them speake any thing, he demaunded of them, why to him onely the king sent so bounteous a rewarde? And they answered, forasmuch as king Alexander iudged him onely to bee a good man and a iust. Then suffer ye mee (sayde Phocion) to bee and to seeme the same man that your king doth iudge me, & cary your gold againe to him.

To the same Phocion, the Ambassadour of Antipater (who succeeded the great king Alexander in Macedonia) offered to giue a great summe of money: which Phocion despising, sayd in this wise: Since Antipater is not greater then Alexander, nor his cause better, I do nothing perceiue, why I should take



take any thing of him. And when the Dra-  
toz, would haue had Phocions sonne to haue  
taken the money, Phocion answered: If  
his sonne would be lyke vnto him, he should  
haue no neede, neither of  $\text{p}$  money, nor none  
other. If he would be vnlyke vnto him, and  
of dissolute māners, neither Antipaters gifts  
nor none others, were they neuer so great,  
should be sufficient.

By these examples it doth appeare, howe  
good men did alway flye from rewardes, al-  
though they might haue ben lawfully taken,  
which in them was neither foolysshnesse, nor  
yet rusticitie, but of a prudent consideration.  
Forasmuch as both by wisdom & experiēce  
they knew that hee which taketh a rewarde  
before any thing done, is no longer at lyber-  
tie: but of a free man is made bonde, bicause  
he hath taken earnest for his true endeauroz.  
Also by the taking, he is become an euil mā,  
though before he wer good. For if he receiue  
it for an euill purpose, he is then a wretch &  
detestable: If the matter were good, then is  
hee not righteous, in sellynge a good dedde,  
which he ought to doe thankfully, and with-  
out reward.

And I doubt not, whosoever is conten-  
ted with this present estate, and supposeth  
felicitie to be in a meane, and all excesse to be  
perillous, will allowe these sentences, and  
think them worthy to be had in remēbrance,  
specially of them that be gouernours. For

J. v.

that

## The Gouvernour

that realme, or citie, where men in authoritie haue their handes open for money, and their houses for presents. Wherefore Caius Pontius Prince of Samnites, was wont to saye: I would God, that fortune had reserued me vnto the time, and that I had ben the boyn, when the Romans shold begin to take gifts, I should then not suffer them anye longer to rule.

Paulus  
Aemilius

Paulus Aemilius, when he hadde vanquished Kinge Perseus, and subdued all Macedonia, brought into the common Treasoure of Rome an infinite treasure, that the substance of that one Prince, discharged all the Romaines to pay euer any tax or subsidie. And yet for all that goods, Aemilius brought nothing into his owne house, but onely perpetuall renoume.

Scipio.  
Africanus.

Scipio when he had gotten and destroyed the great citie of Carthage, was not therfore the richer one halfe penny.

Ci. off. 1.

By this it appeareth, that honour resteth not in riches, although some perchance will saye, that their reuenues be small, and that they must take such rewardes as be lawfull, only to mainaine their honour: but let them take heede to the saying of Tully: Nothing is to be abhorred more then auarice, specially in Princes, and in them which do gouern publyke weales.

The

The examples of Continnence, giuen by noble men. Cap. 18.

**N**OWE will I speake of Continnence, which is speciallye in refrayninge or forbearing the act of carnal pleasure, wher-vnto a man is feruently moued, or is at libertie to haue it. which vndoubtedly is a thing not only difficile, but also wonderfull in a man noble or of great authoritie, but in such one as it hapneth to be, needes muste be reputed much vertue and wisdom, and to be supposed, that his minde is inuincible, considering that nothing so sharply assaileth a mans minde, as doth carnall affection, called (by the followers theroff) loue. wherfore Plato sayth that the soule of man whiche by loue is possessed, dyeth in his owne body and lyueth in an other.

The great king Alexander, after his first victorie against king Darius, hauing alwaies in his hoast y wife of the same Darius, which incomparably excelled other womē in beautie, would neuer after he had once scene hir, haue hir come in his presence. Albeit that he caused hir estate stil to be mayntained, & with as much honor as euer it was: and to them, which wondring at the Ladies beautie, meruailed, why Alexander did not desire to haue with hir companie, he answered, saying: It should be to him a reproch, to be any  
wife

Alexander



## The Gouvernour

wife sabdued by the wife of him, whome hee had vanquished.

Antiochus.

Antiochus the noble kinge of Asia, in the citie of Ephesum, beheld a Virgin (beeing a Minchen in the Temple of Diana) of excellent beautie, and perceiuing him-selfe to bee raniſhed in the loue of the mayden, haſtely & immediately departed out of the Citie, leaſt loue ſhould conſtaine him to violate the virgin: wiſely conſidering, that it was beſt, to abſtain from doing battaile with the enemy. which vneth might be vanquiſhed, but by ſight onely.

Pompeyus.

The valyant Pompey, when he had vanquiſhed the king Mithridates, & had take diuers of his concubines, which in beautie excelled, wold haue no carnal knowledge with any of them: but when hee knewe that they were of noble lignage, ſent them vndeſiled to their parents, and kinſefolke.

Scipio.

Seemblable did Scipio, when hee wanne Carthage. For amonge dyuers womenne, which were there taken: one moſte fayreſt of other, was brought vnto him, to do with hir his pleaſure. But after that ſhe had diſcouered to him, that ſhee was affiaunced to a Gentlemanne, called Indibilis, hee cauſed him to be ſent for, and when hee behelde the lamentation and ſignes of loue betweene them, he not onely deliuered hir to Indibilis with hir raiſſome, which hir friends had

had payde for hir redemption : but also added ther.to an honourable portion of his own treasure. By the whyche continence and liberalitie, he wanne the harts of Indibilis and all his blood, wher by he the sooner obtained and wanne the countrey.

Of this vertues be examples innumerable, as well of Gentiles as of chrissten men: But these for this tyme shall suffice, sauyng for the straungenesse of it, I wil rehearse a notable Hystory, which is remembred by the most excellent doctour saint Hierome.

Valerian beyng Emperour of Rome, and persecuting the Church. In Aegypt was a chrissten man presented vnto him, whome hee beholding to be young and lusty, thinking therefoze to remoue hym from the fayth, rather by beneryall motions, then by sharpnes of tormentes, caused hym to bee layde in a bedde with-in a sayze garden, haupng about hym al flowers of sweete odour, and most delectable sauors and perfumes. And then caused a sayze tender young woman, to be layde by him, all naked, who ceased not sweetlye and louinglye to imbrace and kisse hym, shewyng to him all pleasaunt deuices, to the intent to prouoke hym to fornicacion. There lacked little, that the younge man was not vanquished, and that the fleshe yeelded not to the seruice of Venus. That percepyunge the young manne, whiche was armed wpyth grace, and seeing none other refuge, with his teeth

A vvonderfull continnence in a chrissten Martir.

## The Gouvernour

teeth did gnawe of his owne tongue, wherewith hee suffered such incredible payne, that therewith the brenning of voluptuous appetite was utterly extinct.

In this notable acte, I wotte not whiche is to be commended, either his invincible courage, in resistinge so muche againste nature, or his wysedome in subduyng the lesse payne with the moze, and bytyng of that, where-by he mought be constrained to blasphemie God, or renounce his relygion. Sure I am that he therfore receyued immortall lyfe, and perpetuall glory.

And this I suppose suffiseth, to perswade men of good nature, to imbrace Continence, I meane not to liue ever chaste: but to honour matrimonye, and to haue good awaite, that they lette not the sparkes of Concupiscence growe in great flames, wherewith the wittes shall bee dzyed bp. and all noble vertues de-  
houred.

Of Constance or Stabilitie. Cap. 19.

**I**n buyldynge of a Fortresse, or other honourable mancion, it oughte to bee well consydered, that the cemente or mortar, where-wyth the stones be layde, be firme and well binding. For if it be brykle, and will moulder away with euery showe of rayne, the building may not continue, but the stones, not surely couched and mortred, fall



fall away one after an other, and finally the whole house is defaced, and falleth in ruine. Semblably, that man, which in chylldhood is brought vp in sundrye vertues, if eyther by nature, or els by custome, he be not induced, to be alway constant & stable, so that he moue not for any affection, grieve or displeasure, all his vertues wil shortly decay, and in the estimation of men be but as a shadow, and soone forgotten. If or though he haue all the giftes of nature and fortune, and also is adourned with doctrine and vertue, which hee in hys chylldhood hath acquired with much trauaile, watche, and studdye, and adde not to Constance, when he cometh to the tyme of experience, which experience is as it were the worke of the craftes man, beyng moued with any priuate affection, or feare of aduersitye, or exterior damage, will omytte any part of his learning or vertue, the estimation of his person immediatelic ceaseth amonge perfect worke-men, that is to say, wyse men, and finally beyng waueringe or vnstable, what thing in him may be commended:

And in one thinge me seemeth that Con-  
 stance hath equall prayse with iustice, that  
 is to say, that he that is himself iniust, loueth  
 that person, that dealeth iustly with him: and  
 contrariwise hateth that personne that dea-  
 leth vniustly, or doth him wrong. In likewise  
 hee, whiche is inconstaunt, extollet hys  
 whome he fyndeth constaunt, and despyeth to  
 haue

Constance  
 equall to  
 iustice.

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haue hym hys friende : on the other parte he is angry with him, whome he proueth inconstaunt and wauering, and accompteth hym a beast, and vnworthy the company of menne: and awaighteth diligently to trust him with nothing.

We note in chyldezen inconstancy, and likewise in women, the one for sclenderesse of wytte, the other as a naturall sycknesse. Therefore men vse in rebuking a man of inconstance, to call him a chylidish or womanly person. Albeit some women now adayes bee found moze constaunt then men, and specially in loue towards their husbandes, or els mought there happen to be some wronge inheritours.

Constaunce is as proper vnto a manne as is reason: And is of suche estimation, that accordyng as it was spoken of a wise man: It were better to haue a constaunt enemye, then an inconstant friend. Where of I my selfe had sufficient experience.

But nowe to declare some experyence of Constance, where by the readers may be the moze ther to prouoked, I will rehearse some examplis there-of, out of old Histories, as I shall happen to remember them.

After that Sylla hadde vanquished Marius, and destroyed the parte of hys aduersaries, he with a great number of personnes, all armed, enuironed the Senate, entending to compell them by violence, to condempne

Marius

Marius for a traytour, whiche request none durst gaine sape: Scacuola onely excepte, who being there of demaunded, woulde giue no sentence. But when Sylla did cast therfore on him a cruell countenaunce, he with a constant visage, and noble courage, said to hym: Sylla, although thou facest and thzetest me with thy inultitud of souldiours, with whom thou hast thus besieged this court: yea & although thou dooest menace mee with death neuer so much: yet shalt thou neuer bzing to passe, that for sheding a litle olde bloud, I shall iudge Marius a traytour, by whome the Citie and all Italy haue bene preserued.

The Constance that great king. Alexans Alexanders confidence.  
der had, in trusting hys friende against false  
repozte, saued his lyfe: where-of all men de-  
spayzed: for after that noble battaile, wher in  
hee had vanquished Darius, and taken hys  
treasure, as hee passed thzough Cacia, being  
fore chaffed wyth feruent heate, and the  
length of his iourney, hee came by the ryuer  
called Cydnus, and beholdyng it cleare & ple-  
saunt, and thinking to asswage there-in the  
heates that hee suffered, went therein to na-  
ked, and dranke ther-of: But immediatly, by  
the exceedingge colde, whych was in that wa-  
ter, his sinewes shranke, and hys ioynts be-  
came vnweldye, and as they were dead, and  
all hys hoste beyng dyscomforted, hee was  
conneyed to a Citie there by, called Tarsum.  
Wher-vpon the Whisitions assembled to de-



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uise the best remedye. All were determyned to giue him one medecine, and that it shoulde be ministred by one Philip, chiefe Physition with Alexander. In the meane time Parmenio, one of the greatest capytaynes aboute Alexander, aduertised him by his letters, that he shoulde beware of the treason of the saide Philip, saying: hee was corrupted wyth a great summe of money by Darius. Wherewith he being nothing dismayed, helde in his handes the letter, and receiuing the medicin, that Philyppe gaue hym, at one time deliuered the letter open to Philip, and dranke also the medicine, declaring thereby the constance that was in his friendshippe. Whyche trust, not onely caused nature the better to worke with the medicine, but also bounde so the heart of the Physition toward him, that he euer after studyed moze dilygently for the helpe and preservation of the noble Prince, that did so much trust him.

Cato.

The Constance of Cato Vticensis, was alway immoucable, in so much that at sundry times, when he in the Senate egrely defended the publike weale, with behement & longe orations, against the attemptates of ambitious persons, hee was by them rebuked, and committed to prison: But he therefore not ceasing, but going towarde prison, detected to the people as he went, the vnlawful purposes & enterprises of the, by whome he was punished, with the perill that was

imminent to the publike weale: whiche he did with such courage and eloquence, that as well the Senate as the people drew so about hym, & hys aduersaries were fayne for feare to discharge hym.

Who can sufficiently cominende this noble man Cato, when he readeth in the workes of Plutarcke of hys excellencie courage and vertue? Howe much worthyer had he bene, to haue had Homere the trumpe of hys fame immortall, then Achilles? who for a litle wenche contended with Agamemnon onely: where Cato for the conseruation of the weale publike contended, and also resisted agaynst Iulius Cæsar, and the great Pompey, and not onely against theyr menaces, but also againste their desires and offers of alpaunce. Where of I woulde gladlye haue made a remembraunce in this worke, if the volume there-by, should not to much haue increased, and becomen vnhanfome.

Undoubtedlye constauce is an honourable vertue, as inconstance is reprochefull and odious. Wherefore that man whyche is mutable for euery occasion, must needes often repent him, and in much repentaunce is not onely much folly, but also much detrymente, which euery wise man will eschew, if he can. Wherefore to gouernours nothing is more proper, then to bee in their lyuing stable and constant.

## The Gouvernour.

¶ The true signification of Temperance  
a morall vertue. Cap. 20.

**T**his blessed cōpany of vertues, in this  
wise assembled, foloweth Tēperance,  
as a sad and discrete matrone and re-  
uerent gouernesse, awayting diligent-  
ly, that in any wise voluptie oz concupiscence  
haue no preheminence in the soule of man.

Aristotle  
Ethi.

Aristotle desyneth this vertue, to bee a  
mediocritie in the pleasures of the body, spe-  
cially in taste and touching. Therfore he that  
is temperate, flyeth pleasures voluptuous,  
and with the absence of them is not dyscon-  
tented, and from the presence of them, hee  
wyllyngly absteyneth. But in mine opinyon  
Plotinus, the wonderfull Philosopher, ma-  
keth an excellent definicion of Temperaunce,  
saying: that the proprietie oz office there of is  
to coueyte nothyng, whiche may be repen-  
ted, also not to excede the boundes of medio-  
crite, and to keepe desire vnder the yoke of  
reason.

Temperate  
incontinēce

He that practiseth this vertue, is called  
a temperate man, and he that doth contrarie  
there to, is named temperate: betwene whom  
and a person incontinent, Aristotle maketh  
this diuersitye, that he is intemperate, which  
by his owne election is ledde, supposinge the  
pleasure that is presente, (oz as I mought  
saye) in vze shoulde alwaye be folowed. But  
the person incontinent supposeth not so, and  
yet



yet he notwithstanding doth follow it. The same Authour also maketh a diuersitie, betwene him that is temperate, and him that is continent, saying: The continent man is suche one, that nothing will doe for bodelye pleasure, which shall stande against reason. The same is he, which is temperate, sauinge that the other hath corrupte desires, whiche this man lacketh.

Also the temperate manne deliteth in nothing, contrary to reason. But he  $\bar{y}$  is continent deliteth: yet will hee not be led against reason. Finally to declare it in fewe wordes, we may well call him a temperate man that desireth the thing which hee ought to desire, and as he ought to desire, & whē he ought to desire. Notwithstanding there be diuers other vertues, whiche doe seeme to bee as it were companions with temperaunce. Of whom (for eschewing of tediousnesse) I will speake now only of two, moderation and sobernes, which no man (I suppose) doubteth to be of such efficacie, that with-out them no man maye attaine vnto wisdom: and by them wisdom is soonest espyce.

Of Moderation a spice of temperance. Cap. 21.

Moderation is the lymits and boundes, which honestie hath appoynted in speaking, and doing: lyke as in runnynge  
Pa. 17.                      passynge

## The Gouvernour.

passyng the goale, is accompted but rashnesse: so rennyng halfe waye is repproued for slownesse. In lyke-wise, words and actes be the paces, wher-in the witte of man maketh his course, and moderation is in steede of the goale, which if he passe ouer, he is noted either of presumption, or of foole-hardinesse: if he come shorthe of the purpose, he is contemned as dull and vnapte to affayres of greaie importaunce. This vertue shall best be perceiued by rehearsing of examples shewed by noble men, which is in effect but dayly experience.

Fabius Maximus beeing fīue times Consul, perceiuing his father, his graundfather, and great graundfather, and diuers other his auncetours, to haue had oftentimes that most honourable dignitie, when hys sonne by the vniuersal consent of the people should be also made Consul, hee earnestly intreated the people to spare his sonne, and to giue to the house of Fabius, as it were a vacation time from that honoz: Not for any mistrust that he had in his sonnes vertue & honestie, but that his moderation was suche that he woulde not that excellent dignitie should alway continue in one family.

Scipio Africanus the elder, when the Senate and people hadde purposed, that according to his merites hee should haue certeine statues or Images set in all courts and places of assēbly. Also they would haue set his  
Image

Image in triumphant apparail with in the Capitoll, and haue graunted to him to haue ben Consul and Dictatour during his lyfe, notwithstanding he would not suffer, that any of them should bee decreed, either by the acte of the senate or by the peoples suffrage, wherin he shewed himselfe to be as valyant in refusing of honors as he was in his acts, where-in he had them well deserved.

There is also moderation in tolleration of fortune in euery sorte, whiche of Tully is called equabilitie, which is, when there seemeth to be alway one bysage and countenance, neither chaunged nor for prosperitie nor for aduersitie.

Tolleration of fortune good and bad.

Metellus, called Mumidicus, in a common sedition being banished from Rome, & abiding in Asia, as he happened to fitte with noble men of that countrey, in beholding a great playe, there were letters deliuered him, wherin he was ascertained, that by the whole consent of the senate & people, his retourne into his countrey was graunted. Notwithstanding that hee was of that tidinges exceeding ioyfull, yet he remooued not, vntill the playes were ended, nor any man sitting by him, might perceiue in his countenance any token of gladnesse.

When the great King Antiochus, whiche long time had in his dominion all Asia, which is accompted to bee the thirde parte of the world, was at the last banquished by Lucius

A. A. A.

Scipio



## The Gouvernour.

Scipio, and had lost the moze part of his empire, & was assigned but to a small portion, vsed his fortune so moderately, that he gaue great thanks to the Romaines, that being deliuered of so great burden and charge, he moze easely might gouerne a little dominion.

Alexander being electe and made Emperour of Rome, at .xvi. yerres of his age, so excelled all other in vertue, that the Senate & people wold haue him called the great Alexander, and Father of the countrey, which of all names was highest: he with a wonderfull grauitie refused it, saying: It behoued, that those names were obteyned by merites, and ripenesse of yeaeres.

The same prince also would not suffer his Emperesse to vse in hir apparaile any richer stones then other Ladies, and if any wer giuen hir, he either caused them to be solde, or els gaue them vnto Temples, affirming, that the example of pompe, and inordinate expences, should not proceede of the Emperours wife.

And when for the honour, that hee did to the Senate and lawes, his wife and his mother rebuked him, saying he should bring the Imperiall Maiestie into low estate he answered: It should be the surer, and continue the longer.

Moderation  
of vrrath.

There is also a Moderation to be vsed against wrath or appetite of vengeance.

Hadriane the Emperour, whilest he was  
but

but a priuate person, bare towarde a Capitaine grienous displeasure, who afterwarde hearing, that he was made Emperour, was in great feare, least Hadriane woulde be aduenged. But when hee came to the Emperours prēsence, hee nothing didde or sayde to him, but onely these words: Thou hast well escaped. By which wordes, he well declared his Moderation, and also that who so euer putteth on the habite of a common person or gouernor, it shal not beseme him to reuenge priuate displeasures.

Architas when he hadde bene a long space out of his country, and at his returne found his possessions and goodes destroyed & wasted, sayd to his Bayliffe: I would sureipe punish thee, if I should not be angry.

Much lyke did Plato. For when his seruant had offended him grienously, he desired Speusippus his friend to punish him, leaste (sayd he) if I beate him I should hap to be angry. Where-in Plato deserued more praise then Architas, inasimuch as hee obserued patience, and yet did not suffer the offēce of his seruant to be unpunished. For most oftentimes the omitting of correction, redoubleth a trespasse.

Semblable Moderation and wisdom, Aulus Gellius remembreth to bee in Plutarch the Philosopher, which was Master to Traiane the Emperour. It hapned that the bonde-man of Plutarcke had committed

Au. Gel.

A. b.

some

## The Gouvernour.

some grievous offence: wherefore his master willed that he should bee sharply punished: & commaunding him to bee stripped naked, caused an other of his seruants in his presence to beate him. But the slaue who as it seemed was learned, while he was in beating cryed out on Plutarch, and in manner of reproche sayde vnto him: Howe agreeth this with thy doctrine, that preachest so much of patience, & in al thy lessons reprovest wzang: and nowe contrary to thine owne teaching, thou art all inflamed with wzath, and cleane from the patience which thou so much praysest? Vnto whome Plutarche without anye chaunge of countenaunce answered in this forme: Thou embzaydest me causelesse with wzath & impatience, I pray thee, what perceiuest thou in me, that I am angry, or out of patience? I suppose (except I be much deceiued) thou seest mee not stare with myne eyen, or my mouth imbossed, or the colour of my face chaunged, or any other deformitie in my person or gesture, or that my woordes be swifte, or my voyce louder, then modestie requireth, or that I am vnstable in my gesture or motion: which be the signes & euident tokens of wzath & impatience. wherefore said hee to the corrector, since hee can-not proue, that I am yet angry, in y<sup>e</sup> meane time, while he and I do dispute of this matter, and vntil he vtterly doe cease off his presumption & obstinacie, looke that thou still beate him.

Verily



Verily in mine opinion Plutarch heere-in declared his excellent wisedome and grauitie as well in his example of Patience, as also in subduing the stubbozne courage of an obstinate seruaunt. which history shall bee expedient for Gouvernours to haue in remembrance, that when according to the lawes, they doe punish offendours, they themselves be not chaufed or moued with wrathe. But (as Tully saith) be lyke to the lawes, which be prouoked to punish not by wrathe or displeasure, but only by equitie. And immediately the same authoz giueth an other noble precept, concerning moderation in punishment, saying: In correcting, wraath is principally to be forbidden For he that punisheth while hee is angrye, shall neuer keepe that meane, which is betweene too much and too lyttle.

Offit:

## Of Sobriety in dyet. Cap. 22.

Erilye I nothing doubt, but that the more part of the readers of this worke, will take in good part all that is before written, considering the benefite, and also the ornaiment, that those vertues of whome I haue spoken of good reason and congruence, must be to them, in whom they shall be planted and do continue. But I know wel, that this chapter, which now ensueth, shall vnder be thankfully receiued of a few readers, ne shalbe accepted worthy to be red of any

## The Gouvernour.

Fengalitie.

any honourable person, considering that the matter therein contained is so repugnant and aduerse to that pernicious custome, wherin not long time men haue esteemed to bee the moze parte of honour. Insomuch as I verie well know, that some shal accompt greate presumption in this mine attempte, in writing against that, which hath bene so longe vsed. But since I haue taken vpon mee to write of a publyke weale, which taketh his beginning at the example of them that bee gouernours, I will not let, for the dispraise giuen by them, whiche bee abused, with all study and dilygence to descriue the auncient temperaunce and moderation in dyet, called Sobrietie, or in a moze general terme, Frugalitie: The acte wheroff is at this day as infrequent or out of vse among all sortes of men, as the termes be straunge vnto them which haue not ben well instructed in Latin.

The noble Emperour Augustus, who in all the residue of his lyfe, was for his moderation and temperance excellently commended, sufferd no lyttle reproche, forasmuch as he in a secret supper or banket, hauing with him sixe noble men his friēds and sixe noble women, and naming himselfe at that tyme Apollo, and the other men and women, the names of other Gods and Goddeses, fared sumptuously & delycately, the citie of Rome, at that time beinge vexed with scarlitie of graine: he therefore was rente with curses  
and

and rebukes of the people: in so much as hee was openlie called Apollo, the tormentour. saying also that hee with his goodes had deuoured theyr corne, wyth whiche libertye of speche beinge moze perswaded then dyscontented, from that forth hee vsed such a frugality or moderation of diette, that he was contented to bee serued at one meale with three vyshes, or sixe at the moste: which also were of a moderate pryce, and yet there-in he vsed such sobernesse, that either he him-self would not sytte, vntyll they whiche dyned with him had eaten a good space: or els if he sate when they did, he would arise a great space, ere any of them had left eating. And for what purpose, suppose yee, did this Emperour in this wyse, in whome was neuer spot of auarice or vile courage? Certes for two causes. First, knowing the inconueniences, that alway doe happen by ingurgitations and excessyue feedinges: Also that lyke as to him was committed the soueraigne gouernaunce of all the world: so would he be to all men the generall example of liuing.

Now what domages do happen amonge men by immoderate eating and drynking, we be euerye daye taught by experyence: but to byng them (as it were to mens eyes) I wil sette them out euidently.

Firste, of sacietie or fulnesse be ingendred paynefull disease and sicknesse, as squyn- ces, distillation, called reumes or poses, he- merodes.

Gale. de fac  
ni. tuenda  
li. 56



## The Gouvernour.

moroydes, great bledinges, crampes, dusk-  
nesse of sight, the tylike, and the styche, with  
manye other that come not nowe to my re-  
mainbzance. Of so much drynking procedeth  
dropxies, where with the bodye, and often-  
tymes the visage is swolne & defaced, beastely  
fury, wher-with the mindes be perysched, and  
of all other mooste odious, swine dronkennes,  
wher-with both the body and soule is defor-  
med: and the figure of man is as it were by  
inchauntmente transformed into an vglye  
and lothsome Image. Wherefore the Lace-  
demonies sometyme purposely caused the ru-  
stical seruantes to be made verie dronke, and  
so to be brought in at their common dynners  
to the intent that young men, beholding the  
deformitye and hasty fury of them that were  
dronkardes, should lyue the more soberlye,  
and shoulde eschew dronkennesse, as a thing  
foule and abhominable.

What pros-  
fit is in soe  
brietie, and  
vvhath dis-  
commodity  
happeth by  
the contra-  
ry.

Also Pyttacus (one of the seuenen sages of  
Grece) did constitute a law, that they which  
beyng dronk dyd offend, should susteine dou-  
ble punishment: that men should the more di-  
ligently forbare to be dronke.

It is ryght euident to euery wyse man  
who at any tyme hath haunted affaires, wher-  
vnto was required contemplation, or serious  
study, that to a man, hauing due concoction  
and digestion, as is expediente, shall in the  
mornyng fasting, or with a lytle refection,  
not onely haue his Inuention quicke, his

iudge.

iudgement perfecter, hys tongue redyer, but also his reason fresher, his eare moze attente, his remembrance moze sure: And generally all his powers and wyttes moze effectuall, and in better estate, then after he hath eaten abundantly. And I suppose for this cause, the auncient courtes of recorde in this Realme, haue euer bene vsed to be kept only befoze noone. And surely the consideration is wonderful excellent, and to be (as I mought saye) superstitiously obserued: the reasons why, be so apparant, that they neede not here to be rehearsed.

Pithagoras was neuer seene to eat any fish or flesh, but onely herbes and fruites. Semblably did many other, who exactly followed his doctrine: wherfoze it was supposed, that they the rather excelled al other, in finding out the secretes and hyd knowledges of nature, which to other were impenetrable.

Plato, or rather Socrates, indictynge in his seconde booke of the publike weale, wyleth, that the people of his Citie, which hee woulde constitute, should be nourished wyth barley bread, and cakes of wheate, and that the residue of theyr dyette shoulde bee salte, Oliues, Cheese, and Leekes: and mozeouer wortes, that the fieldes doo bring forth, for their potage: but hee addeth, as it were to make the dinner moze delicat, Figs, Beanes, Whittle berries, & bech mast, which they shold rost on the coles, and drinke to it water moderately,

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deratiue. So (sayth he) they lyuing restfully and in helth vnto extreme age, shall leaue the same maner of liuing vnto theyr successours.

I knowe well some readers, for this diet appoynted by Socrates, will scozne him, accounting hym for a foole, who not onely by the aunswere of Apollo: but also by the consent of all excellent wyters, that followed hym, and the vniuersall renoume of all people, was approued to be the wisest man of all Grecia.

Certes I haue knowne menne of worshop in this Realme, whiche during theyr youth, dranke for the moze parte water.

But here menne shall not note me, that I wryte this, as who sayth, that noble men in this Realme, shoulde lyue after Socrates dyete, wher-in hauing respect to this tyme and regyon, they mought perchaunce finde occasion to reprove me. Surly like as the excesse of fare is to be iustly reproved: so in a noble manne, much pynching and nygardshyppe of meate and drinke is to be discommended.

I canne not commende Aeleus Pertinax, who being Emperour of Rome, would haue his guesstes serued with a plant of letysse, diuided into two partes: and except some thing were sent him, he would appoynt nine pound weyght of flesh vnto thre messes, and if any dysh hapned to bee brought to hym, he caused it to be set by vntyll the next day.

I am ashamed to remember, that he would sende



send to his friendes, two morseles of meate, a peece of puddyng, or the carcasse of a capon. This was but misery and wretched niggardshyp in a man of such honour.

In like manner, who will not haue in extreame detestation, the insatiable gluttony of Vitellius, Fabius, Gurges, Apicius, and diuers other, to whiche caruosauntes, neyther land, water, nor ayre, mought be sufficient:

Neither the curiositie and wanton appetite of Heliogabalus, Emperour of Rome, is of any wise man allowed, who beyng at Rome, or farre from the Sea, would eat onely sea fishe: And when hee sojourned nigh to the Sea, he would touch no fish, but whiche was taken out of the ryuer of Tyber, or other places of equall, or of more distaunce. Also he would haue dyshes of meate made of Cameles heeles, the combes of Cockes newly cut, the tongues of Decockes, and Flytyncales, Partriches egges, and other thinges hard for to come by: where-to bee no englyshe names founden (as I suppose) apte to the true signification.

Moreouer, although I dyspraysed niggardshyp and vicious scarlatie: yet in these number of dyshes, which I haue commended, I desyre not to haue there-in meates for anye occasion too much sumptuous. For in one or two dyshes, maye bee employed as much mony as in twentie, perchaunce as good or better in eatyng. Where-of there remay-

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neth a noble example of Cleopatra, daughter to Ptolome, late king of Egypt, whome Caesar in his lyfe held for his concubine. The same Lady Antony, (with whome Octavian deuided the Empire) loued also paramours, abandoninge his wife, whyche was Sister to Octavian. And the warres betweene hym and Octavian, ceasing by a little space, hee (during that tyme) lyued in moste prodigall ryot, and thinking all thing in the Sea, the Lande, and the Ayre to be made for satisfyng hys gluttonye, deuoured all fleshe and fysh that moughte bee anye where founden. Cleopatra, dysdeyning to bee vanquished in anye excesse by a Romaine, layed a wager with Antony, that she hir selfe would receiue in-to hir body at one supper, the value of fiftie thousande poundes, whiche to Antony was thought in a manner to bee impossible. The wager was put into the handes of Numatius Planeus, a noble Romaine. The next day Cleopatra prepared for Antony a ryght sumptuous supper, but there-at Antony nothing meruailed, knowyng the value ther-of by his accustomed fare, then the queene synilyng, called for a goblette, where into she did powze a quantitie of very tarte vinegar, and taking a Perle, which hung at one of hir eares, quickely did let it fall into the vinegar, wher-in being shortly dissolued (as is the nature of the Perle) she immediatly dranke it. And although she had vanquished Antony,

accoꝝdyng to hir wager , the Perle with-out any doubt, beyng of the value of l. M.li. yet had shee likewise dronken an other Perle of lyke value , which was hanging at hir other care, had not Numatius Planeus , as an indifferent Iudge,foꝝth-with giuē iudgement, that Antony was already vanquished.

I haue rehearsed this Hystorie, wzitten by Macrobius, and also Pliny, to the intent, that the vanitie in sumptuous feasting, should bee the better expꝛessed.

Macrobius  
sa. lib. 9.  
Pli. lib. 19.  
cap. 35.

Androcides (a man of excellent wisdome) wzote vnto the great king Alexander an Epistell, desiring hym to refraine hys intemperance, wher-in he said: Noble pꝛince, when thou wilt drinke wine, remember then , that thou drinkest the blood of the earth. Signifying there-by (as I suppose) the might, and power of wine, and also warnyng Alexander, of the thyꝛst oz appetite of blood, which wold ensue by his intemperate drinking. Foꝝ Pliny (that wꝛyteth this Hystorie) sayth immediately: If Alexander had obeyed the pꝛecepts of Androcides, hee had neuer slaine his fridences in his dronkenesse . Foꝝ vndoubtedly it may be saide with good right, that there is nothing to the strength of mans bodye moze profitable then wine , noꝝ to voluptuous appetites moze pernicious, if measure lacketh.

Pli. lib. 14.  
natu. hist.  
cap. 5.

Also, it is very truisp and properly wzitten of Propertius the Poet , in this sentence following oz like.

B b ij.

By



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By wine beauty fadeth, and age is defaced,  
Wine make:h forgotten that late was im-  
braced.

Moreover, Salomon in his booke named Ecclesiastes, calleth that countrey happye, where-of the gouernours doo cate their time. And what shall we suppose is their time, but onelye that whiche nature and the vniuersall consent of all people hath ordeyned? And of what space is that tyme? But onelye that, whych suffyseth to the abundant sustentation and not oppression of nature, neither letteth any part of their necessary affayres about the publike weale.

Of Sapience, and the definition  
there-of. Cap. 23.

**A**lbeit that some menne, whych haue hitherto redde this booke, wyl suppose, that those vertues, whereof I haue treated, bee sufficient to make a gouernour vertuous and excellent: yet neuertheles for as much as the effecte of mine enterpryse in this worke, is to expresse, as farre forth as God shall instructe my pooze witte, what thinges do belonge to the making of a perfecte publike weale, which well nyghe maye no moze be without an excellent gouernour, then the vniuersall course of nature maye stande or bee permanent, with-out one chiefe disposer and mouer, whiche is ouer all supre-  
eminent

eminent in power, vnderstanding, and goodnes. Wherefoze bicause in gouernaunce be included Disposition and Order, which cannot be without souereigne knowledge, proceeding of wisdom, in a moze elegant word called Sapience. Therefore I will now declare, as much as my lyttle witte doth comprehend of that parte of Sapience, that of necessitie must be in euery Gouernour, of a iust or perfect publyke weale.

The noble Philosopher, and most excellent Orator Cicero, sayth in this wise: Sapience is the science of thinges diuine and humaine, which considereth the cause of euerye thing, by reason where-off, that which is diuine, she followeth, that which is humaine, she esteemeth farre vnder the goodnesse of Fortune.

Ci. tusc. q. 3

This definition agreeth well, with the gift of Sapience, that God gaue to Salomon, King of Israel, who asked onelye wisdom, to gouerne ther-with his realme. But God, which is the fountaine of Sapience, graciously pondering the young princes petition, which proceeded of an apt inclination to vertue, with his owne moste bounteous lyberalitye, which hee purposed to employe on him, for the entire loue, that hee hadde to his Father: Hee therefore infused in him plentye of all wisdom and cunninge, in thynges as well naturall as supernaturall: as it appeareth by the workes of the same Kinge Salomon, wher-in be well nyghe as many wise-

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domes, as there be sentences. And in mine opinion, one thing is specially to be noted.

King Dauid, father to Salomon, was a man of a rare and meruaylous strengthe, in so much, as he himselfe reporteth in the booke of Kinges beeing a childe, and caryng to his bzetheren their dinner, where they kepte their cattell, he slew first a great Beare, and after a Lyon, which fierce & hungry assaulted him, although he were vnarmed: And whether he had any weapon or no, it is vncertaine, since he maketh theroff no mention. Also of what prowes he was in armes, and how valyaunt and good a Capitaine in battaile, it may sufficiently appeare to them that will read his noble actes & atchieuances in the bookes befoze remembred. Where. in no good catholyque man will any thing doubt though he be meruaylous, yet notwithstanding all his strength and puissaunce was not of such effecte, that in the longe time of his reygne, which was by the space of .xl. yeares, he could haue any tyme vacant from warres. But alway had eyther continuall battaile with the Philistines, or else was molested with his owne childezen, and suche as ought to haue bene his friends. Contrariwise, his sonne Salomon, of whome there is no notable mention made, that hee shewed any commendable feate, concerning martiall prowesse, sauinge the furnyture of his garrisons, with innumerable men of warre, horses



horses and charyottes, which proueth not him to be valyant and strong, but onely prudent: after in a lyttle bickeringe with the Philistines, in the beginnunge of his reygne, continued in peace, without any notable battayle, or molestation of any person, wherefore he is named in scripture, Rex pacificus, which is in English, The peaceable King. And only by sapience so gouerned his realm, that though it were but a lyttle Realme in quantitie, yet it excelled incomparablye all other, in honour and riches. Insomuch as siluer was at that time in the citie of Hierusalem, as stones in the streete. wherfore it is to be noted that Sapience in the gouernance of a publyke weale, is of a moze efficacie the strength and puissaunce.

The authoritie of Sapience, is well declared by Salomon in his Prouerbs, saying: By me Kinges doe reygne, and makers of lawes discern things that be iuste. By me Princes do gouerne, and men hauing power and authoritie, do determine Iustice, I loue all them that loue me, & who that watcheth to haue me, shall finde me. With mee is both riches and honour, statelye possessions and iustice. Better is the fruite that cometh of me, then golde and stones that be precious.

The same King saythe in his booke called Ecclesiastice: A King without Sapience shall lose his people, and citie shall be inhabited by the witte of them that be prudent.

Wh. iij.

Which

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whiche sentence was verified by the sonn<sup>e</sup> and successour of the same Kinge Salomon<sup>e</sup> called Roboam, to whom the said booke was w<sup>r</sup>itten, who neglectinge the wise and vertuous doctrine of his father, contempned the sage counsaile of auncient men, and imbraced the lyght perswasions of young men and flatterers, where by he losse his honour, and brought his realme in perpetuall diuision.

The Empire of Rome (whose beginning prosperitie, and desolation seemeth to bee a myrrour and example to all other Realmes and countreyes) declareth to them that exactly behold it, of what force and value Sapience is to bee esteemed, beeing begunne with shepherdes, slyng the w<sup>r</sup>athe and displeasure of their masters.

Diodorus  
Siculus li. i

Romulus, during the time of his reigne, (whiche was .xxxvij. yeares) nothing didde enterpryse, with-out the authoritie and consent of the fathers, whom he himself chose to be Senatours. And finallye, as longe as the Senate continued in the citie of Rome, and reteyned their authoritie which they receiued of Romulus, and was encreased by Tullus Hostilius, the thyrde king, they wonderfullie prospered, and also augmented theyr Empire ouer the moze part of the world.

But soone after the Emperoz Constantine, had abandoned the citie, and translated the Senate from thence to Constantinople, and that finallye the name and authoritie of the Senate,

Senate, was by lyttle and lyttle exhaust, by the neglygence and folly of ignoraunt Emperours, not onely that most noble citie, head and Princesse of the world, and fountaine of all vertue and honour, fell into moste lamentable ruyne, but also the maiestie of the Empire decayed vtterly, so þ̄ vneth a lyttle shadowe there-off nowe remayneth, which who so beholdeth and conferreth it with Rome whē it flourished, according as it is left in remembrance by noble wryters, he shall vneth kepe teares out of his eyē, beholding it now as a rotten sheepecote in comparison of that citie noble and triumphant. O pooze and miserable citie, what sundry toziments, excisiōs, subuertions, depopulations, and other euill aduētures hath hapned vnto thee, since thou were bereft of that noble court of Sapiēce? whose authozitie if it had alwaye continued, being also confirmed in the faith and true religion of Chzist, God being with thee pleased, thou couldest neuer haue bene thus desolate vnto the finall consummation and ende of the world.

I doubt not, but it is wel knowne to euery Catholyke man, that hath the liberall vse of reason, that all manner of vnderstanding and knowledge, wher-off proceedeth verfect operation, do take their original of that high sapience, which is the operatrice of all thinges. And therefore Salomon or Philo, or who so made the booke called Sapientia, made



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his prayer to God in this wise.

Giue to me good Lorde, Sapience, that sitteth by thy throne. And in the latter ende of the prayer he sayth: Sende hir from the seate of thy holynesse, that she maye be with me, and labour with mee, and that I maye know what may be accepted with thee.

Muses  
what they  
do signifie.

Orpheus (one of the eldest poets of Grece) affirmeth in his Hymnes, that the Muses were begotten between Iupiter and Memorie. which saying well vnderstoode, and exactly tryed shall appeare manifestly to agree with the saying of the wise man conteyned in the sayd prayer late rehearsed.

Eustathius the expositour of Homer, saith; Musa, is the knowledge of the soule, and is a thing diuine as the soule is.

But finally, as by olde authours a man may aggregate a definitiō, that which is called in Greeke and Latin, Musa, is that parte of the soule, that induceth and mooueth a man to serch for knowledge, in the which motion is a secret and inexplicable delectation. Albeit, bicause knowledge is in sundry wise distributed, and the number of nyne amonge olde authours was alway rehearsed, where they speake of a multituded, as it shall appeare to them that read Homer and Virgil: Therefore ther were deuised to be nyne Muses, which also for the resemblāce of their disposition were sayned by the Poetes to be nyne virgins, that first inuented all lyberall scienc-

ces:

ces : but the other opinion approacheth more neere vnto the troth, and agreeth better vnto my purpose.

More-ouer, Iupiter was alwaye taken of the Poets & Philosophers for the supreme God, which was the giuer of lyfe, & creatoz of all things, as appeareth in al their works. wherefoze sometime they call him omnipotent, somtime the father of gods, and of men, so that vnder that name, they knowledged to be a very god though they honozed him not as one only god, as they ought to haue done.

But now Orpheus saying, that the Muses proceeded of Iupiter & Memory may bee in this wise interpreted, That God almightie intruded Sapience into the Memory of man : for to the acquiring of science belongeth Understanding and Memory, which as a treasoz hath power to reteyne, and also to erogate and distribute, when opportunitie hapneth. And for the excellencie of this thing, some noted to bee in mans soule a diuine substance : As Pithagoras, oz some of his schollers, writing his sentence, sayth in this wise speaking to man.

Nowv in thy self haue thou good confidēce,  
Since mortall men be of the kinde diuine,  
In vvhose nature a reuerent excellence  
Appereth clere, vvhich all thing doth define.

whiche Sentence of Pithagoras, is not  
relected

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reiected neither of Plato , which approached next vnto the Catholyque writers , nor of diuines , which interprete holy Scriptures, taking the soule for the Image & similytude of God.

Sciēce frō  
whence it  
proceedeth  
Plato in  
Timens.  
Plato in  
Theage.

More-over, Plato affirmeth, that there is set in the soule of man cōming into the world certein species, or as it were seedes of things, and rules of artes and sciences.

Wherfoze Socrates, in the booke of science, resembleth himselfe to a midwife , sayinge, In teaching younge men, hee didde put into them no science, but rather brought foorth that which alreadye was in them , lyke as the Midwife brought not in the childe , but beeing conceiued, did helpe to bring it forth. And like as in houndes is a power or disposition to hunte, In horses and grephounds an aptitude to runne swiftly, so in the soules of men is ingenerate a leame of science, which with the mixture of a terrestriall substance is obfusate, or made darke . But where there is a perfect master, prepared in time, the brightnesse of the science, appeareth polite and cleere, lyke as the power and aptitude of the beasts before rehearsed, appeared not to the vttermost except it bee by Exercise prouoked, and that sloth & dulnesse , being plucked from them by industry, bee induced vnto the continuall acte : whiche as Plato affirmeth , is proued also in the master and the disciple.

Dem-



Semblablye the foresayde Socrates, in Platos booke of Sapience, saith to one Theages, Neuer man learned of me anye thinge, although by my company, he became wyser, I onely exhorting, and the good spirite inspiring.

Which wonderfull sentence, as me seemeth, may well accorde with our Catholike fayth, and be receiued into the commentaries of the most perfect diuinitie. For aswell that sentence, as al other befoze rehearsed do comprobate with holye Scripture, that God is the fountaine of sapience, like as he is the soueraigne beginning of all generation.

Also it was wonderfully wel expressed, of whome Sapience is ingendred, by a Poette named Afranius, whose verses were set ouer the porche of the Temple, where the Senate of Rome moste commonly assembled. Which verses were in this manner.

Sapience  
fro whence  
it procedeth

Vsus me genuit, Mater peperit memoria,  
Sophiam me Greci vocant, vos sapientiam.  
Whiche in Englyshe maye be in this wise translated.

Memorie hyght my Mother, my Father  
Experience,  
Greekes call mee Sophy, you name me Sapience.

By vse or experyence, in these verses expressed, the Poette intended, as well those actes, which we our selfe daily do practyse, as also them, whiche beyng done by other in  
time

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tyme passed, for the fruite or vtilitye, whiche ther-of succeeded, were allowed and also proued to be necessary. And the cause, why the Poette coniopyneth Experience and memory together (as it were in a lawful matrimony, Experience begetting, and Memory alway producyng that incomparable fruite, called Sapience) is, for that memory in hir operation properly succedeth, experience for that which is presently done, wee perceiue, that whiche is to come, wee coniecte or diuine: but that, whiche is passed, onely wee haue in our memory. For as Aristotle declareth wonderfully in an example. In the principall sence of Man, there is conceived an Image or figure of a thyng, whiche by the same sence is perceyued, as long as it is retayned entyre or whole, and as I mought saye, consolidate, pure, manifeste, or playne, and wyth-out blemyshe in suche wyse, that in euery parte of it, the mynde is styrr'd or occupied, and also by the same mynde, it maye bee thzoughly perceyued and knowne, not as an Image it selfe, but as representinge an other thyng. This is properly Memory. But if the whole Image or figure be not reteyned in the minde, but parte ther-of onely remaineth, part is put out, cyther by the lengthe of tyme, or by some other mishap or iniurye: so that it can neyther brynge the mynde eftsloones vnto it, nor it can be called agayne of the mynde, as often as by that porcion

Aristot. de  
memoria &  
reminiscen-  
cia lib. 2.

porcyon, whyche styll remayneth, and hath aboden alwaye entyre and cleane, the residue that was there-to knytte and adioyned, and late seemed for the time dead, or berefte from the minde, is reuiued, and (as it were) returned home againe, it is then had for redeemed or restored, and is properly called remembraunce.

This is the exposition of the noble Philosopher, which I haue whritten, principally to the intent to orname our language, with besing wordes in their proper signification. where-of, what commodity may ensue, all wise men will (I doubt not) consider.

¶ What is the true signification of Vnderstanding. Cap 23.

**F**Or as much as in the beginning of the fyrste booke of this worke, I endeuored my selfe to proue, that by the order of mans creation, preheminence in degree should be amonge menne, accordinge as they doo excell in the pure influence of vnderstandinge, whyche cannot bee denyed to bee the principall parte of the soule: Some reader perchaunce, moued with disdayne, wyll for that one assercion, immediately reiect this worke, saying: that I am of a corrupt or foolish opinion, supposing that I doe intende by the sayde wordes, that no man should gouerne or be in auctoritey, but only he, which  
 fur



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surmounteth all other in doctrine, whiche in his hasty malice he deemeth, that I onely do meane, where I speake of vnderstandyng.

I suppose all men do knowe, that man is made of bodye and soule, and that the soule in preheminance excelleth the bodye, as much as the mayster or owner excelleth the house, or the artificer excelleth his instrumentes, or the king his subiectes. And therefore Salust in the conspiracye of Caryline saieth: We vse specially the rule of the soule, and seruice of the bodye: the one we participate with Gods, the other with beastes. And Tully sayeth: Mans soule being decrepte or taken of the portion of diuinity called Mens, may be compared with none other thing (if a mā mought lawfully speake it) but with God him-seife.

Ci. tu. q. li. i

Chrisost. de  
separatione  
lapfi.

Also the noble diuine Chrisostomus sayth: The bodye was made for the soule, and not the soule for the body. Nowe it is to bee further knowne, that the soule is of three partes: the one, wher-in is the power or efficacy of growing, whiche is also in hearbes, and trees, as well as in man, and that part is called vegetatiue. An other parte, wher-in manne doth participate with all other thynges lyuing, which is called sensitiue, by reason that ther- of the senses do proceede, which be distributed into dyuers instrumentall partes of the body, as sight into the eien, hearing to the eares, sinellyng to the nose, tastyng to the mouth, feeling to euery part of the body, where in

wher-in is bloud , wyth-out the whych vn-  
doubtedly may be no feelyng. The thirde part  
of the soule , is named the parte intellectuall  
oz of vnderstanding , whiche is of all the o-  
ther moſte noble, as wher-by man is moſte  
lyke vnto God, & is preferred before al other  
creatures. For where other beaſtes by their  
ſenſes do feele, what thyng do profite them,  
and what doth annoy them : onely man vn-  
derſtandeth, wherof the ſayd contrary diſpo-  
ſitions doe come, and by what meanes they  
doe epyther helpe oz annoy: alſo he perceyuethe  
the cauſes of the ſame thyng, and knoweth  
howe to reſiſte, where and when neede doth  
require, and with reaſon and craſte how to  
giue remedy: and alſo with labour and in-  
duſtry, to prouide that thyng, whych is whol-  
ſome oz profitable. This moſte pure parte of  
the ſoule , and (as Ariſtotele ſayeth) dyuine,  
impaſſible, and incorruptible, is named in La-  
tine , Intellectus, where-vnto I can finde no  
proper Englyſhe, but Vnderſtandinge. For  
intelligence , whyche commeth of Intelligen-  
tia , is the perceyuing of that, whiche is firſt  
conceiued by vnderſtanding , called Intelle-  
ctus. Alſo intelligence is now vſed for an ele-  
gant worde , where there is mutuall treaties  
oz appoyntmentes , epyther by letters oz meſ-  
ſage, ſpeciallye concerninge warres , oz lyke  
other great affaires betweene Princes oz no-  
ble men . Wherefore I wyll vſe this worde  
vnderſtanding , for Intellectus , vntyll ſome  
Cc. j. other

Ariſto. li. to  
de anima.

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other moze proper englyshe worde may bee founden and broughte in custome . But to perceyue moze plainely what thing it is, that I cal vnderstanding. It is the pꝛincipall part of the soule, which is occupied about the beginninge or originall causes of thinges , that may fall into mans knowledge: and his office is, befoze y any thing is attempted, to thinke, consider, and prepare, and after often tossing it vp and downe in the minde, to exercise that power : the propertie where of , is to espye, seeke for, ensearch and finde out : which vertue is referred to wit, which is, as it wer the instrument of vnderstanding.

Howeouer, after the thinges be inuented, coniected , perceiued, and by longe tyme and often considered , and that the minde disposeth hir self to execution, or actuall operation: then the vertue, named Prudence , first putteth hir selfe forwarde, and then appeareth hir industrie and labour, for as much as she teacheth, warneth, exhorteth, ordereth & profiteth, like to a wise Capitayne , that setteth his host in array. And therfoze it is to be remembꝛed, that the offyce or duetie of vnderstanding, proceedeth the enterpryse of actes, and is in the beginning of thynges . I call that beginning, where in befoze anye matter taken in hande , the mynde and thoughte is occupied, and that a man searcheth and doubteth, whether it be to bee enterprysed, and by what way, & in what time it is to be executed.

who



whoe by this little introduction, knowing what vnderstanding doeth signify, will not suppose, that hee, which ther in doth excell, is not with honour to bee aduanced? Then it foloweth that by the argument, that for as much as he that excelleth other in vnderstanding, should be preferred in honour, therefore no man should be preferred in honour, but only they that excel other in learning. No man hauing naturall reason, though he neuer read Logyke, will iudge this to be a good argumente, considering that vnderstandyng, called in latine Intellectus, and Mens, is by it selfe sufficient, and not of any necessity annexed to doctrine: but doctrine proceedeth of vnderstanding. But if doctrien be alway attending vpon vnderstanding, as the daughter vpon the mother, vndoubtedly then vnderstanding must be the more perfect, & of a more efficacy, being increased by the inuētions and experiences of manye other declared by doctrine, no one man without inspiration hauing knowledge of of al thing. I cal doctrine discipline intellectuall, or learning which is eyther in wryting, or by repozte of thinges before knowne, which proceedeth from one man to an other. That which I haue sayd, is in this wise confirmed by Salomon, saying: a man that is wyse, by hearing shall become wyser. And he that hath vnderstandyng, shall bee a gouernour. Seneca sayeth: wee instruct our chyliden in liberall sciences, not bicause those

Arist. ethic.  
li. 5. posteria  
orum. 1. po-  
litice lib. 1.

Prover. 1.

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sciences, maye giue any vertue, bicause they prepare the minde, and make it apt to receiue vertue. which being consydered, no man will deny, but that they be necessary to euery man, that coueteth euery nobilitie, whiche as I haue often-times sayde, is in the hauinge and vse of vertue. And verilye in whome doctrine hath bene founded, ioynd with vertue, ther vertue hath semed excellent, as I might saye triumphant.

Scipio, commen of the moste noble house of the Romaines, in high learning and knowledge of the nature of thinges wonderful studious, hauing alwaye with him the moste excellent Philosopher & Poets that were in his time, was an example and myrrour of martial prowesse, continence, deuotion, liberality, and of al other vertues.

Cato, called Vticensis, named the chiefe pillar of the publike weale of the Romaines, was so much inflamed in the desire of learning, that (as Suetonius writeth) he coulde not temper him-selfe in reading Greke bookes whyles the Senate was sitting.

How much it profited to the noble Augustus, which vntyll the death of his vncle Iulius Caesar, diligentely applyed his studye in Athens, it well appeared after that the Ciuill warres were all finished: when he reforming the whole state of the publike weale, stablyshed the Senate, and taking vnto him ten honozable personages, dayly in his owne  
person

person consulted with them of matters to be reported twice in a moneth to the Senate, in such wise ayding & helping forth that moste noble courte with his incomparable studie and dilygence.

The Emperour Titus, sonne to Vaspasian, for his learning and vertue, was named the delycate of the worlde.

Marcus Antonius, the Emperour, was in euery kinde of learning so excellent, that he was therefore openly named the philosopher, not in reproche (as menne doe nowe a dayes in despite call them Philosophers and Poets, whom they perceiue studious in sundry good disciplines) but to the augmentati- on of his honour. For beeing of his owne nature aptly inclyned to imbrace vertue, hee adding too aboundaunce of learning, became there-by, a wonderfull and perfect Prince, beeing neither of studie with-drawn from affaires of the publike weale, nor by any bu- sines vtterly plucked from Philosophy, and other noble doctrines. By the which mutual coniunction and iuste temperaunce of those two studies, he attained to such a forme in all his gouernance, that he was named and taken for father of the Senate, of the people, and vniuersally of the whole Empire.

More-ouer, his deedes and words were of all men had in so high estimation and re- uerence that both the senate & people tooke of him lawes and rules of their lyuing.

Cc ij.

And



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And in his gouernance and proper lining, as wel at home in his house, as in his ciuile busines, he was to him selfe the onely law and example. And as he was aboue other highest in authoritie, so by the vniuersall opinion of al men, he was iudged to be of al other men, then lyuing, the best and also the wisest.

Of Experience, vvhich hath preceded  
our time, vvith a defence of hi-  
stories, Cap. 25.

**E**xperience, wheroff commeth wisdom, is in two manner of wise: The one in actes committed oz done by other men, wher-off profite oz damage succeeding, wee maye (in knowing oz beholding it) bee there by instructed to appzehend the thing, which to the publyke weale, oz to our owne persons, may be commodious: and to eschue that thing, which either in the beginning, oz in the conclusion appeareth noysome and vicious.

The knowledge of this experience is called Example, & is expzessed by history, which of Tully is called the lyfe of memozy. And so it agreeth well with the verses of Afranius, by me late declared. And therefore to suche persons, as do contempne auncient histories. reputing them amonge leasinges and fantasies (these bee their wordes of reproche) it may be sayd, that they frustrate Experience:  
which

Titus L  
ius in pro  
emio. 1b. 1.

Histories  
vvherfore  
they bee  
commenda-  
ble.

which (as the sayd Tully sayth) is the lyght of vertue, which they would be seene so much to fauour, although they do seldome imbrace it. And that shall they perceiue manifestlye, if they will a little while laye apart their accustomed obstinacie & suffer to be distilled in to their eares two or thzee drops of the sweet oyle of remembraunce.

Let them reuolue in their mindes generallye, that there is no doctrine, bee it cyther diuine or humaine, that is not cyther all expressed in Hystoꝛy, or at the least mixt with hystoꝛy. But to the intent that there shall be left none ignoraunce, where-by they might be deteined in their erroꝛ, I wil now declare vnto them what it is, that is called an hystoꝛy, and what it comprehendeth.

First, it is to be noted, that it is a Greeke name, & cometh of a word or verbe in Greeke Historio, which doth signifie to knowe, to see, to enserch, to enquire, to heare, to learne, or tell, or expound vnto other. And the must hystoꝛy, which cometh theroff, be wonderfull profitable, which leaueth nothing hidde from mans knowledge, that vnto him maye be either, pleasaunt or necessarye. For it not only reponeth the iestes or actes of Princes or Capitaines, their counsailes and attemptates, enterprises, assayes, manners in lyving good and bad, descriptions of Regions and cities with theyꝛ inhabytaunts: but also it bringeth to our knowledge, the formes of

C. iiij.

sundry

Historie  
vha it  
signifieth.

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fundry publyke weales, with their augmentations and decaies, and occasions there-off.

More-ouer, precepts, exhortacions, counsayles, & good perswasions, comprehended in quicke sentences, and eloquent orations. Finally so large is the compasse of that, which is named History, that it comprehendeth all thing that is necessary to be put in memory. In to muche as Aristotle where hee declareth the parts of mannes bodye, with theyr description and offices, and also the sundrye formes and dispositions of all beasts, foules, and fishes, with their generation, nameth his booke an historye. Semblably, Theophrast his scholer, a noble philosopher, describing all hearbs & trees, wher-off he mought haue y true knowledge, entituteth his booke, The history of Plants. And finally, Plinie the elder, calleth his most excellent and wonderful worke, the historye of Nature, in the which booke hee nothing omitteth, that in the bosome of nature is conteyned, and may be by mannes witte comprehended, and is worthy to be had in remembraunce. Which authorities of these three noble and excellent learned men, approoued the signification of History to agree well with the exposition of the verbe Historio, wher off it cometh.

Now let vs see what booke of holy scripture, I meane the olde Testament and the newe, may be sayde, to haue no part of History. The five bookes of Moles, the booke  
of



of Judges, the foure bookes of kings, Iob. Hester, Iudith, Ruth, Thobias, and also the Historie of Machabees, (which from the other is seperate) I suppose no man will deny but that they be all historicall: or (as I mought say) entire histories. Also Esdras, Nehemeas, Ezechiel, and Daniel, although they wer prophets: yet be their works compact in forme of narrations, which by Orators be called enunciatiue, & only pertaineth to histories, wherein is expressed a thing done and persons named. All the other prophets, though they speake of the time future or to come, whiche is out of the description of an Historie, yet either in rebuking the sinnes, and enormities passed, or bewayling the destruction of their Countrey, or captiuitie of the people, and such lyke calamitie or miserable estate, also in moouing or perswadinge the people, they doe recite some circumstance of a narration.

But now bee we comen to the new Testament, and principally the booke of the Euangelists, vulgarly called y Gospels, which be one context of an history: do not they containe the temporall lyfe of our Saviour Christ, King of Kings, & Lord of y worlde, vntill his glorious ascention?

And what thing lacketh therein, that doth pertaine to a perfect history? There lacketh not in thinges order and disposition, in the context of narration, veritie in the sentences

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grauitie, vtilitie in the counsayles, in the persuasions doctrine, in expositions or declarations facilitie. The bookes of the acts of Apostles, what thing is it else but a playne history? The Epistles of Saint Paul, Saint Peter, Saint Iohn, Saint Iames, and Iudas, the Apostles, doe conteyne counsayles and aduertisements, in the fourme of orations, reciting diuers places as well out of the olde testament, as out of the gospels, as it wer an abbzeuiate, called of y<sup>e</sup> Greekes and Latins, Epitoma. This is wel known to be true, of them that haue hadde anye leasure to read holy scripture: who remēbryng theselues by this my lyttle induction, wil leaue to neglect history, or contempne it with so generall a dispraise as they haue bene accustomed.

But yet some will impugne them, with a moze perticular objection, saying: The Histories of the Greekes and Romaines be nothing but lyes and fayning of Poets: some suche persons there bee, betweene whom and good authoys hath ever ben perpetual hostilitye. First, how doe they know that all the histories of Greekes and Romaines bee lyes, since they haue not, that anye Scripture autentike, made about that time, that those histories were wrytten, doe reprove or contempne them? But the mooste catholyke and renowned doctors of Christes religion, in the corroboration of their arguments and sentences doe alledge the same histories, and  
vouch

bouche (as I mought say) to their ayde, the authozitie of the writers: And yet some of those Rabines (in Goddes name) which in comparison of the sayd noble Doctours, bee as who say the petites, and vneth lettered: will presume, with their owne sely wits, to disproue that, which both by aunciente of time, and consent of blessed and noble doctours is allowed, and by their workes honoured.

If they will coniect histozyes to be lyes, bicause they somtime make report of things seene, and actes done, which doe seeme to the readers incredible: by the same reason may they not onely condemne all holy scripture, which conteyneth things moze wonderfull, then any histozyan wytyeth, but also exclude crudelitie vtterly from the company of mā? For how many things be daily seene, which being reported vnto him that neuer saw the, should seeme impossible.

And if they wil alledge, that al thing contained in holy scripture, is approbate by the whole consent of al the clergie of Christendome, at diuers generall counsailes assēbled. Certes the same counsailes neuer disproued or reiected the Hystories of Greekes or Romaines, but the most catholyke and excellēt learned men of those congregations, embraced their examples, and sowing them in their workes, made of the to the church of Christ a necessary ornamēt. Admitte, that some histozyes be interlaced with leasinges: why  
Should



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Should we therefore neglecte them? since the affaires there reported, nothing concerneth vs, we being there-off no partners, neither thereby only may receiue any damage. But if by readinge the sage counsaile of Nestor, the subtil perswasion of Vlysses, the compendious grauitie of Menelaus, the imperi-  
all Maiestie of Agamemnon, the prowesse of Achilles, and valyant courage of Hector, we may appprehend any thing, where by our wits may bee amended, and our personages be more apt to serue our publyke weale and our Prince, what forceth it vs though Homere write leasings?

I suppose no man thinketh that Aesope wrote gospels: yet who doubteth, but that in his fables, the Foxe, the Hare, & the Wolfe, though they neuer spake, doe teach manye good wisdomes? which beeing well considered, menne (if they haue not auowed to repugne against reason) shall confesse with Quintilian, that fewe, and yneth one maye be founde of auncient writers, whiche shall not bring to the readers, some thing commodious: And specially, they that write matters historizal, the lesson wherof is as it wer the mirrour of mans life, expressing actually and (as it were at the eye) the beautie of vertue, and the deformitie and lothlynesse of vyce. wherefore Lactantius sayth: Thou must needes perish, if thou knowe not what is to thy life profitable, that thou maist seeke

for it : and what is dangerous , that thou mayst flee and eschue it. which I dare affirme may come soonest to passe by the reading of Hystories , and reteyning them in continuall remembraunce.

¶ The experience or practise necessarye in the person of a gouernour of a publike weale. Cap. 26.

**T**He other experience , which is in our proper personnes , and is of some men called Practise , is no small moment or efficacie in the acquiring of Sapience : in so much that it seemeth , that no operation or affayre maye bee perfect , nor no science or arte complete , except experience be there-vnto added , where-by knowledge is ratified , and (as I might say) consolidate.

It is witten , that the great king Alexander , on a tyme being (as it happened) vn-occupied , came to the shop of Apelles , the excellent painter , and standing by him , whiles he painted , reasoned with him of lynes , aduancements , proportions , and other lyke things pertaining to imagery : which the paynter a little whyles suffering , at the last sayde to the king , with countenance al smiling : Seest thou noble prince , how the boye , that gryndeth my colours , doth laugh thee to scorne ? which wordes the kinge tooke in good parte , and helde him therewith iustly corrected , considering

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sidering by his own office in martiall affaires that he then had in hande, how great a portio of knowledge sayleth, where lacketh experyence. And therein gouernours shal not disdain to be resembled vnto Physitions, considering their offices in curing and preserving, be most like of any other.

That parte of Physicke, called Rationali, wher-by is declared the faculties or powers of the bodye, the causes, accidentes, and tokens of sicknesses, can not alwayes bee sure, with out some experyence in the temperature or distemperature of the regions, in the disposition of the pacient, in diette, concoction, quietnesse, exercise, and sleepe. And Galene, prince of physitions, exhorteeth them to know exactly the accustomed diette of their patientes, whiche can not happen with-out much resort into theyr companies, seriously noting theyr vsage in diette. Semblably the vniuersall state of a countrey or Citie, may bee well lykened to the bodye of man. wherefore the gouernours, in the sееde of Physitions, attending on their cure, ought to knowe the causes of the decaye of their publike weale, whiche is the health of theyr Countrey or Citie, and then with expedition, to proceede to the most speedy and sure remedy. But certes the very cause of decay, neither the true meane to cure it, maye neuer bee sufficiently knowne of Gouvernoures, excepte they themselves will personally resort and peruse all partes



partes of the countreyes vnder their gouernance, and inſerche dilygently, as well what be the cuſtomes & manners of people good & bad, as alſo the commodities & diſcommodities, how the one may be preſerued, the other ſuppreſſed, or at the leaſt wayes amended.

Alſo amonge them that haue miniſtration or execution of Juſtice (whiche I may lyken to the members) to taſte and feele, howe euery of them doo practiſe theyr offyces, that is to ſay, whether they do it feeblely or vnprofitably, and whether it happen by negligence, diſcourage, corruption, or affection.

But now maye the reader with good reaſon demaunde of mee, by what manner experience, the gouernours may come to the true knowledg here-of. That ſhal I now declare.

Fiſt, the gouernours them ſelues, adorned with vertue, being in ſuch wyſe an example of lyuing to theyr inferiours, and making the people Iudges of them and theyr domeſticall ſeruantes and adherentes, ſhould ſundry tymes during their gouernaunce, eather purpoſely, or by way of ſolace, repayre into dyuers partes of theyr iuriſdiction, or prouince, and making their abode, ſhal partly theſelues attentiuely heare, what is commonly or priuately ſpoken, concerning the eſtate of the countrey or perſons, partelye ſhall cauſe their ſeruants or friendes, of whoſe honeſty and trowth, they haue good aſſuraunce, to reſorte in diſpoſting them ſelues in dyuers  
few:

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townes and villages , and as they happen to be in companie with the inhabytauntes, priuily, and with some manner of circumstance enquire what maner of honour dwell nigh vnto them, what is the forme of theyr liuing, of what estimation they be in iustice , lyberalitye, dyligence in executing the lawes, and other semblable vertues. Contrariwise, whether they bee oppressours , couetous maner, maintainours of offendours, remisse or negligent, if they be officers. And what the examiners do heare the greater number of people reporte , that they entyrelly and truly denounce it to the sayde gouernour: by the which intimation, and their owne prudent endeavour , they shall haue infallible knowledge, who amonge the inhabytauntes bee men toward the publike weale best dysposed. Then shall they call for, and moste curteously entertaine, and (as it were) louingly imbrace with thanks for theyr good will and endeavour toward the publike weale, commending them openly for their vertue and diligence : offering to them their assistance in their semblable doings, and also their furtheraunce toward the due recompence of their trauailes.

On the contrary parte , when they see any of them , who amonge their inferiours , obserue not Iustice , and likewise Officers, which be remysse , or fauourable to common offendours and breakers of lawes , and negligent in execution of their auctorities , to  
them

then shall they giue condigne reprehensions, manifesting their defaultes, in omitting their dueties, & in giuing euil example to their companions, also boldnes to transgresse & to contene the lawes. Declaring also, that they ministering such occasion, deserue not only a sharpe rebuke, but also right grienous punishment.

And if he, that thus admonisheth, be a soueraigne gouernour or prince, & shortly hereupon doth ratifie his words, by expelling some of the, which I now rehearsed from their offices, or otherwise sharpeley correcting them, and contrariwise aduancing hygher some good man, and whome he hath proued to be diligent in the execution of iustice, vndoubtedly hee shall inflame the appetite and zeale of good mynisters, and also suscite or rayse the courage of all men inclined to vertue, so that there shall neuer lacke men apt and propice to be set in authoritie. Where the merites of men bee hyd and unknowne to the soueraigne gouernour, and the negligent ministers or inferior gouernours haue not only equal thank or reward, but perchance much more then they which be diligent, or would be, if they mought haue assistance, there vndoubtedly is greuous discouragement, and perill of conscience: forasmuch as they omitte often-times their duties and offices, reputing it great folly and madness, to acquire, by the executing of Iustice, not only an opinion of tyranny among the people, & consequently hatred, but also malignitie among

Ed j.

his



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his equals & superiours, & a note of ambition.

This resolved and considered by a circumspect gouvernour, Lord God, how shortly, and with how little difficultie, shall he dispose the publike weale that is grieved, to receiue medicine, where by it should be soone haied and reduced to his perfection.

Of detraction & the Image ther-of, made by the painter Appelles. Cap. 27.

**T**here is much conuersant among men in authoritic, a vice very vgly & monstrous, who vnder the pleasant habite of friendship and good counsaile, with a breath perniciouall infecteth the wits of them that nothing mistrusteth. This monster is called in english Detraction, in latin Calumnia, whose propertie I will now declare.

If a man be determined to equitie, hauing the eien and the cares of his minde set only on the troth, and the publike weale of his countrey, will haue no regard to any request or desire, but proceedeth directly in the administration of Iustice, cyther he, which by iustice is offended, or some his fauours, abbettours, or adherentes, if hee him-selke, or any of them be in seruice or familiaritie with him that is in authoritie, as soone as by any occasion, mention hapneth to be made of him, who hath executed iustice exactly, forth-with they imagin some vice or default, be it neuer so litle, whereby they may impugn his credence, and crafti-

lye omittting to speake anye thing of his ry-  
gour in Justice, will note and touche some  
thing of his maners, wher-in shal either seme  
to be lightnesse, or lack of gravity, or to much  
sowernesse, or lacke of Ciuitie, or that hee  
is not beneuolent to him in authoritie, or that  
he is not sufficient to receiue any dignitie, or  
to dispatche matters of weighty importance,  
or that he is superfluous in wordes, or eis to  
scarfe. Also if he liue temperately, and deli-  
teth much to study, they embzayed him with  
nygardshyp, or in derision, call him a clarke or  
a Doet, vnmeete for any other purpose. And  
this do they conertly, and with a moze graui-  
tie, then any other thing that they enterpryse.

This euil report, called Detraction, was The Imag  
of detract  
wonderfully well expressed in figures, by the  
most noble painter Apelles. After he was dis-  
charged of the cryme, wher-of he was falsly  
accused to Ptolome, king of Egypt, hauing  
for his amendes of the saide kinge xii. M.  
pounds sterling, and his accuser to his bond-  
man perpetually, the table, wher-in Detracti-  
on was expressed, he painted in this forme.

At the ryght hande was made sitting a  
man, hauing long eares, putting forth hys  
hande to Detraction, who farre of came to-  
wards him. About this man stode two wo-  
men: that is to say, Ignorance & Suspicion.  
On the other syde came Detraction, a wo-  
man aboue measure well trimmed, al chauncy  
and angry, hauing hir aspect or looke lyke to  
Dd.ij.

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the fyze, in shewing a manner of rage oz furie.  
In hir left hande, she helde a bzenning tozch  
oz bzand, and with hir other hand she drew by  
the haire of his head, a yong mā, who held vp  
his hands toward heauen, calling God and the  
Saintes for witnesse : with hir came a manne  
pale, and euill fauoured, beholding the younge  
man intentiuelly, like vnto one that had bene  
with long sicknes consumed, whome ye might  
lightly coniecte, to bee enuie. Also there folo=  
wed two other women, that trymmed and ap=  
parayled Detraction, the one was Treason,  
the other Fraude. After folowed a woman, in  
a mourning weede, blacke and ragged, and she  
was called Repentaunce, who turning hir  
backe, weping and sore ashamed, behelde Ac=  
ritie, who than approched.

In this wise Apelles described Detraction,  
by whome he him-selfe was in perill. Which  
in myne opinion is a right necessarie matter  
to be in tables oz hangings, set in euery mans  
house that is in authoritie, considering what  
domage and losse hath ensued, and may here=  
after ensue, by this horryble pestilence, false  
Detraction, to the auoiding wher-of, Lucian,  
who wryteth of this ppycture, giveth a notable  
counsaile, saying.

A wyse man, when hee doubteth of the ho=  
nestie and vertue of the person accused, should  
keepe close his eares, and not open them ha=  
skilye to them, which bee with this sicknesse  
infected, and put Reason for a diligent porter  
and



and watche, which ought to examine and let in the reportes that be good, and exclude and prohibite them that be contrary. For it is a thing to laughe at, and verie vnfitting, to ordeine for thy house a keeper or porter: and to leaue thine eares & minde to all men wide open. Wherefore, when any person commeth to vs, to tel vs any report or cōplaint: First it shall behooue vs thzoughly and euenly to consider the thing, ~~not~~ hauing respecte to the yerres of him ~~that~~ reporteth, or to his forme of lyuing, or wisdom in speaking. For the moze vehement & reporter is in perswading, the moze dilygent and exact tryal and examination oughte to be vsed. Therefore trust is not to be giuen to an other mans iudgemēt, much lesse to the malyce of an accuser. But euery man shal retein to himselfe the power, to ensearch out the troth, and leauing the enuie or displeasure to the detractour, shal ponder or way the matter indifferētly, that euery thing, in such wise being curiously insearched and proued, he may at his pleasure either loue or hate him, whom he hath so substauncially tryed. For in good faith, to giue place to detraction at the beginninge, is a thing childish and base, and to bee esteemed among the moste great inconueniences and mischiefes. These be well nighe wordes of Luciane: whether the counsaile be good, I remit it to the wise Readers. Of one thing I am sure, that by Detraction, as well ma-

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my good wittes haue bene drowned, as also  
vertue and painefull study unrewarded, and  
many zealatours oz fauourers of the publike  
weale, haue bene discouraged.

Of Consultation and Counsayle, and in  
vwhat forme they ought to be vsed in  
a publyke vweale. Cap. 28.

**T**he griefes oz diseases, which of Ari-  
stotle be called the decayes of y pub-  
lyke weale, being inuestigate, exami-  
ned, & tried by the experiēce before ex-  
pressed, the cometh the time & oportunitie of  
Consultation: whereby as I sayd, is proui-  
ded the remedies most necessary for the hea-  
ling of y said griefs, oz reparatiō of decayes.

Cōsultatiō  
Counsell.

This thing that is called Consultation,  
is the generall denomination of y act, wher-  
in men doe deuise together, and reason what  
is to be done. Counsaile is y sentence oz ad-  
uice particularly given by euery man for that  
purpose assembled. Cōsultation hath respect  
to the time future oz to come, that is to say,  
the end oz purpose therof, is adressed to some  
act oz affaire, to be practised after their con-  
sultation. And yet be not all other times ex-  
cluded, but first the state of thinges present,  
ought to be examined, the power, assistance,  
& substance to be esteemed, semblably things  
passed, with much and long deliberation, to  
be reuolued & tossed in the minde, and to bee

con=

conferred with them that bee pꛛesent, & being exactly wayed the one against the other, then to inuestigate oz enquire exquisitely, the form and reason of the assayze: and in that studie to be resolved so effectually, that they which be counsaillours, may beare with them out of the counsaile house, as it wer on their shoulders, not onely what is to be followed and exploited, but also by what means oz wayes it shall be pursued, and how the assayze may be honourable, also what is expedient and of necessitie, and howe muche is needefull, and what space and lengthe of time, and finallye how y enterpryse beeing atchiued & broughte to effect, may be kept and reteined. For oftentimes after exploytures hapneth occasions, either by assaults oz other incombꛛances of enimyes, oz of too much trust in fortunes assurance, oz by disobedience oz pꛛesumption of some persons, whom the thing toucheth, that this last part of Consultation is omitted, oz more rather neglected: wher much study, trauel, & cost haue vtterly perished, not only to y great detrimēt of infinite persons, but also to the subuersiō of most noble publiꛛk weales.

Moreouer it is to be diligently noted, that euery counsaile is to be approued by three Counsaile things pꛛincipally that it be righteous, & it proued by be good, and that it stand with honesty. That 3. things. which is righteous, is broughte in by reason. For nothing is right that is not ordered by reason. Goodnes commeth of vertue, of



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vertue & reſon proceedeth honeſtie, wherefoze counſaile being compact of theſe three, maye be named a perfect Capitaine, a truſtic companion, a playne and vnſayned friende.

Titus Li-  
uius lib. 15

Therefore in commendation ther-off, Titus Liuius ſayth: Many things be impeached oz let by nature, which by counſaile be ſhortly atchieued. And verily the power of counſaile is wonderful, hauing authoritie as well ouer peace as marciall enterpriſe. And therefore with good reaſon, Tully affirmeth in hys booke of offices, armes with- out the doores be of little importance, if counſaile be not at home. And he ſayth ſoone after: In things moſte prosperous, the counſaile of friends muſt be vſed. which is ratified by the Author of the noble worke named Eccleſiaſticus, ſaying: My ſonne, without counſaile ſee thou doe nothing, and then after thy deede thou ſhalt neuer repent thee. The ſame author giueth three noble precepts concerning this matter, which of euery wiſe man ought to be had in continuall memozy.

Eccle. 32.

Eccle. 8

Of fooles take thou no counſaile, for they can loue nothing but that pleaſeth theſelues. Diſcouer not thy counſaile befoze a ſtranger: for thou knoweſt not what theroff may happen. Vnto euery man diſcloſe not thy heart, leaſt peraduenture he will giue to thee a ſayned thāke, & after report rebukefully of thee.

Fooles (as I ſuppoſe) be they, which be moze ledde with affection then reaſon. And  
whom

whom he calleth strangers, be those, of whose fidelitie and wisdom he is not assured: and in the generall name of euery man, maye be signified the lacke of election of counsaylers, which woulde be with a bigilant search, and (as I mought saye) of all other most scrupulous.

What inconsultation is to be chiefly considered. Cap. 29.

**T**he ende of al doctrine and studie is good counsaile, where vnto as vnto the principall poynt, which Geometricians doe call the Centre (which by some Authours be imagined in the forme of a circle) all doctrines do sende their effectes like vnto equal lynes, as it shall appeare vnto them that will reade the bookes of the noble Plato, wher he shal finde that the wise Socrates, in euery inuestigatiō, which is in form of a cōsultation, vseth his perswasions, and Demonstrations by the certeine rules and examples of sundrye Sciences, proouing there-by that the conclusion (and as I mought saye) the perfection of them, is in good counsaile, wherein vertue may be founden, beeing (as it were) hir proper mansion or palayce, wher hir power only appeareth, concerning gouernance, either of one person onely, and than it is called morall, or of a multitude, which for a diuersitie may be called politike. Since coun-

D D. v.

sayle

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sayle is of suche an efficacie , and in thinges concerning man hath such a preheminence.

It is therfore expedient, that Consultation, (wherin counsaile is expressed) be very serious, substanciall, and profitable. whiche to bring to effect, requireth two things principally to be considered.

Considerations of  
counsaile.  
Counsaillers  
Sal. bel. Ca  
Counsaillers  
many,  
Dio. Halicarnassensis.

First, that in euerye thing concerninge a publyke weale, no good Counsaylour bee omitted or passed ouer , but that his reason therin be hard to an ende, I call him a good Counsaylour, which (as Cæsar sayth) in the coniuration of Catiline, whyles hee consulteth in doubtfull matters is voyd of all hate, friendship, displeasure, or pitie. Howe necessary to a publyke weale it shall be, to haue in anye wise mens opinions declared, it is manifest to them that doe remember, that in many heades be diuers manners of wittes, some inclyned to sharpnes and rigour, many to pitie & compassion, diuers to temperance and meane betweene both extremities, some haue respect to tranquilitye only, other more to wealth and commoditie, diuers to muche renoume and estimation in honour. Ther be that will speake all theire minde sodeynelye and perchaunce right well. Diuers require to haue respecte and study, wher-in is much more suretie, many will speake warelye, for feare of displeasure , some more bolder in vertue, will not spare to shewe their mindes playnely, diuers will assent to that reasons where-



where with they suppose, that hee, which is chief in authoritie, wil be best pleased. These vndoubtedly be the diuersities of wits.

And more-ouer, where ther is a great number of Counsaylours, they all being heard, needes must the counsaile be y more perfect. For some-time perchance one of them which in doctrine, wit, or experience is in least estimation, may happe to expresse some sentence more anayleable to the purpose, wherein they consult, then anye that befoze came to the others remembraunces. No one man is of such perfection, that he can haue in an instant remembraunce of all thing. Which I suppose was considered by Romulus, the first Kinge of Romains, in the first constitution of their publyke weale. For hauing of his own people but thzee thousand footmen & thzee hundred horse-men, he chose of the eldest and wisest of them all, one hundred counsaylours. But to the more assertion of diuers mennes sentences, I will declare a notable experience, which I late hapned to read.

Belinger Baldasene, a man of great wit, singular learning, & excellent wisdom (who was one of the counsaylours to Ferdinando king of Aragon) when any thing doubtfull, or waightie matter was consulted of, where he was present, afterward when he had supped at home in his house, he wold call befoze him all his seruants, & merily purposing to them some fayned question or fable, wher in  
was

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was craftely hidde, the matter, which remained doubtfull, woulde merilye demaunde of euery man his paritcular opinion, and giuing good eare to their iudgements woulde conferre together euery mans sentence, and with good delyberation pondering theyr value, hee at the last perceiued, which was the truest and most apt to his purpose: and being in this wise furnished, translating iapes and thinges fayned, to matters serious and true, he among the Kings Counsaylours, in giuing good and substanciall aduice, hadde alway preheminence. How much commoditie that suppose ye mought bee taken of the sentences of many wise and experte Counsaylours? And like as Calchas as Homere writeth, knewe by Diuination, thinges present, thinges to come, and them that were passed: so counsaylers garnished with learning, and also experience, shall there-by consider, the places, times, and personages, examininge the state of the matter, than practised, and expending the power assistance, and substance, also reuoluing longe and oftentimes in their mindes, things that be passed, and conferring them to the matters that bee than in experience, studiously doe seeke out the reason and manner, how that which is by them approued may be brought to effect. And such mens reasons woulde be thoroughly hearde, and at length: For the wiser that a man is, in tarying, his wisdom increaseth, his

Counsay-  
lers.  
Homerus.  
Uad. 1.

his reason is moze liuely, and quicke sentence abouideth. And to the moze part of men, when they be chaufed in reasoning, arguments, solutations, examples, similitudes, and experiments do resozte, and (as it were) flowe vnto theyr remembraunce.

¶ The second consideration to be had in consultations. Cap. 30.

**T**he seconde consideration is, that the general & vniuersal estate of the publike weale, would be pzeferred in consultation, befoze any particuler commodity: and the profit oz damage, which maye happen with in our owne countreys, would be moze considered, then that, which maye happen frō other regions: which to belecue, commune reason and experience leadeth vs. For who commendeth those gardiners, that will put all their diligence in tryimming oz keeping delicatelye one knotte oz bedde of hearbes, suffryng all the remnaunt of theyr gardeyn to bee subuerted with a great number of molles, and to attend at no tyme for the taking and deströping of them, vntyll the herbes, where in they haue employed all theyr labours, bee also turned vp and perished, and the molles increased in so infynite numbers, that no industrye oz labour, maye suffice to consume them: wher-by the labour is frustrate, and all the gardeyne made vn-

Generall  
things be-  
fore pers-  
ticular.



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profitable, and also vnpleasaunt. In this similitude, to the gardēyn maye bee resembled the publike weale, to the gardeners, the gouernours, and counsaylours, to the knottes or beddes, sundry degrees of personages, to the molles, vices and sundry enormities.

Wherefore the consultation is but of a small effecte, wher-in the vniuersal estate of y<sup>e</sup> publike weale doeth not occupye th<sup>e</sup> more parte of the time, and in that generalitie euery particular estate, be not diligently ordered. For as Tully sayeth: they that consulte for parte of the people, and neglecte the residue, they bring into the Citie or countrey a thing most pernicious: that is to saye, sedition and discord. wher-of it hapneth, that some wil seeme to fauour the multitude, other be inclined to leane to the best sorte, fewe doo studie for all vniuersally. whiche hath bene the cause that ont onely Athens (which Tully doth name) but also the citie & Empire of Rome, with diuers other cities & realmes haue decayed and bene finally brought to extreame desolation.

Also Plato in his Booke of Fortitude, sayeth in the person of Socrates: When so euer a manne seeketh a thing, for cause of an other thing, the consultation ought to bee alwaye of that thing, for whose cause the other thing is soughte for, and not of that, whiche is soughte for, bycause of the other thing. And surely, wyle men doo consider that damage often-times hapneth, by abusing

Ci.off.lib.1

Plato in  
Lachet.

Long the due fourme of consultation: men like euill Physicians, seeking for medicines, ere they perfectly knowe the sicknesses: and as euill marchaunts do vtter first the wares and commodities of straungers, whiles straungers be robbing of theyr owne coffers.

Therfore these thinges, that I haue rehearsed, concerning consultation, ought to be of all men in authoritie substantially pondered and most vigilantly obserued, if they intende to be to theyr publike weale profitable: for the which purpose onely, they be called to be gouernours.

And thus I conclude, to write any more of consultation, which is the last part of morall sapience, and the beginning of sapience politike.

Now all yee readers, that desyre to haue your children to be gouernours, or any other authoritie in the publike weale of your countrey, if ye bring them vp, and instruct them in such forme, as in this booke is declared, they shall then seeme to all men, worthy to be in authoritie, honour, and noblenesse. And al that is vnder their gouernaunce shall prosper and come to perfection, and as a precious stone in a rich ouche, they shall be beholden and wondered at, and after the death of their bodye,

theyr soules, for theyr endeuour, shall

be incomparably rewarded of the

giuer of wisdom, to whome

only be giuen eternall

glory. Amen.

FINIS.